DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 273 160 HE 018 769

AUTHOR Elam, Julia C., Ed.
TITLE Blacks on White Campuses. Proceedings of a Special NAFEO Seminar (Washington, DC, March 25, 1982).
INSTITUTION National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education, Washington, D.C.
REPORT NO ISBN-0-8191-3268-3
PUB DATE 83
NOTE 112p.
AVAILABLE FROM National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education, 2243 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20007 ($5.00 plus $1.00 for handling).
PUB TYPE Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021) -- Viewpoints (120)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS *Administrators; *Blacks; *Black Students; College Administration; *College Students; Continuing Education; Cooperative Education; Educational Opportunities; Higher Education; *Racial Relations; Socialization; Student Adjustment; *Whites

ABSTRACT

Problems and possibilities for black students and administrators on white or predominantly white college campuses are explored in 11 papers from a seminar held by the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education. Strategies and recommendations for improving the quality of life for blacks at these institutions are also provided. Paper titles and authors are as follows: "University Family: Institutional Commitment to Educational Opportunities for Black Students" (Beverly Brown Dupre); "Issues That Impact on Blacks on White College Campuses" (Carole Hall Hardeman); "Blacks on White Campuses: Problems and Perspectives" (Edward Jackson); "Blacks on White Campuses: The Cooperative Education Experience" (Kenneth M. Edison); "Networks, Linkages and the Socialization of Black Educators" (William Banks); "Status of Minority Professionals on Majority Campuses: Saviors, Victims or Survivors" (Sheila J. Nickson); "An Assessment of the Role of Black Administrators at Predominantly White Colleges and Universities" (Andrew J. Chishom); "The Black Academic Administration in the White University: Problems and Possibilities of the 'Assistant to ...'" (Irving P. McPhail); and "Black Administrators in Higher Education and Their Patterns and Preferences of Participation in Continuing Education Programs" (James Washington, Jr.). (SW)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED273160

BLACKS ON WHITE CAMPUSES

Proceedings of a Special NAFEO Seminar

Edited by

Julia C. Elam

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

✓ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

NAEOHE

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

HE 018769

UNIVERSITY PRESS OF AMERICA

The National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education

BLACKS ON WHITE CAMPUSES

Proceedings of a Special NAFEO Seminar

Edited by
Julia C. Elam, D.A.
Bowie State College

UNIVERSITY PRESS OF AMERICA

LANHAM • NEW YORK • LONDON

The National Association
for Equal Opportunity
in Higher Education
2243 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

Copyright © 1983 by
The National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education

University Press of America,™ Inc.
4720 Boston Way
Lanham, MD20706

3 Hennetta Street
London WC2E 8LU England

All rights reserved
Printed in the United States of America

ISBN (Perfect): 0-8191-3268-3
ISBN (Cloth): 0-8191-3267-5

BLACKS ON WHITE CAMPUSES:

Proceedings of a Special NAFEO Seminar

Held at the

Rayburn House Office Building

and the

Washington Hilton Hotel

March 25, 1982

The National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education
2243 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20007

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

NAFEO expresses appreciation to the following corporations for their support of the Seventh National Conference on Blacks in Higher Education: Anheuser-Busch, Inc; Brown and Williamson Tobacco Company; Connecticut General; Eastern Airlines; elan; Exquisito Services, Inc.; Gulf Oil Company; M & M Products, Inc.; Media Systems; Miller Brewing Company; Norton-Simon, Inc.; Pepsi Cola Company; Pfizer Corporation; RJR Industries, Inc.; Saga Food Service Company; Schiltz Brewing Company; Somerset Importers, LTD.; Coca Cola USA; and the Washington Post. To the Southern Education Foundation and the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, NAFEO gives special thanks. To Dr. Mable McLean and members of the Conference Committee, NAFEO extends its gratitude. Special recognition goes to Ms. Paula Robinson, Conference Coordinator, for her untiring efforts, patience and resource fulness in organizing and coordinating all conference activities. To Ms. Z. Diana Stevenson and Mr. James T. White, who typed this manuscript, NAFEO expresses it sincere gratitude. The NAFEO institutions express their indebtedness to Dr. Samuel L. Myers, Executive Director of NAFEO, and Mrs. Wilma Roscoe, Executive Associate, as the prime movers in the growth and development of what is now a very visible and vital educational organization. To Dr. Prezell Robinson, President of NAFEO, special gratitude is extended for the counsel and guidance given to NAFEO.

Finally, NAFEO wishes to express its thanks to the many other groups and individuals for their assistance in making NAFEO's Seventh National Conference an overwhelming success.

CONTENTS

FOREWORD

PREFACE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

University Family: Institutional Commitment to Educational Opportunities for Black Students 1
Beverly Brown Dupre

Issues That Impact on Blacks on White College Campuses 9
Carole Hall Hardeman

Blacks on White Campuses: Problems and Perspectives 24
Edward Jackson

Blacks on White Campuses: The Cooperative Education Experience 30
Kenneth M. Edison

Networks, Linkages and the Socialization of Black Educators 44
William Banks

Status of Minority Professionals on Majority Campuses: Saviors, Victims or Survivors 50
Sheila J. Nickson

An Assessment of the Role of Black Administrators at Predominantly White Colleges and Universities 55
Andrew J. Chisholm

The Black Academic Administration in the White University: Problems and Possibilities of the "Assistant to . . ." 68
Irving P. McPhail

Black Administrators in Higher Education and Their Patterns and Preferences of Participation in Continuing Education Programs 75
James Washington, Jr.

A Model for Affirmative Action at a Large Midwestern University 82
Edward L. Davis

Maintaining Linkages Through Affirmative Leadership 91
Marshena M. Baird

APPENDIX 99

PREFACE

During the past twenty-five years, two phenomena have occurred in concert: the enrollment of black students at historically black colleges and universities (HBCU's) has increased, and, to an even greater degree, the presence of black students, as well as black professionals, on predominantly white campuses has grown, but not without attendant problems. Although NAFEO, since its establishment in 1969, has been primarily preoccupied with the growth and development of blacks in historically black colleges and universities, the Association has, increasingly, in recent years, expanded its scope of interest to include issues on promoting access and equity for blacks in higher education, regardless of their educational environment. This expanded interest is not incompatible with NAFEO's major thrust since many of the black professionals employed at majority institutions are products of HBCU's. They, like blacks at minority institutions, should have the opportunity to participate fully in the mainstream of campus activities and should not be relegated to the periphery of academic life on white campuses.

With this broader focus in mind, NAFEO sponsored a special seminar on "Blacks on White Campuses" as an integral part of its Seventh National Conference on Blacks in Higher Education. The papers in this publication, representing the detailed exposition of each presentation, provide an overview of some of the most common problems faced by black students and professionals on white campuses as well as strategies and recommendations for improving the quality of life for blacks at majority institutions. A separate publication titled "Linkages and Networks," which covers the main body of the Seventh Annual Conference, will be published as a companion volume.

For many black students, entrance into a different environment created a number of problems which, according to Dupre, Hardeman, and Jackson, fall into both the affective and cognitive domains. In the affective domain, black students experience little socialization with their white counterpart and are generally isolated from the mainstream of campus activities. The psychological stress that often accompanies social isolation can breed apathy, frustration, and academic failure.

In the cognitive domain, many black students perform poorly because of the lack of support systems that would promote academic persistence. Many white professors appear insensitive or unresponsive to their needs. There are few black professionals who can serve as role models or to whom they can turn for advice or assistance. Consequently, many black students develop negative self-concepts and defeatist attitudes that often result in the lack of academic persistence and, in turn, dismissal or withdrawal from the institution.

The high attrition rate of blacks in white institutions is cause for alarm, especially since the majority of blacks who matriculate at majority institutions, Hardeman notes, receive better than average GPA's in high school. Those who complete the baccalaureate program experience difficulty during the freshman and sophomore years but in many instances catch up with and generally surpass whites in the senior year. It would appear, then, that since most of the black students enrolled in white institutions have above average high school GPA's and usually high aspirations, a larger percentage of these students would persist through graduation if adequate support systems that would impact on the total individual are institutionalized. Further, as Dupree maintains, "good faith" activities, such as the ones she decribes at Loyola University, can serve "as a means of incorporating minorities into the campus mainstream." Hardeman believes that the answer to the problem of retention for blacks in postsecondary institutions "lies in our (blacks') own ingenuity as a race," in blacks' concern for and commitment to the education of black youth.

Like black students, black professionals on white campuses find themselves in an environment where they, too, experience isolation and alienation. In commenting on the condition of black faculty, Jackson contends that there is "very little contact between black and white colleagues; they rarely socialize together. . . ; they seldom communicate about academic issues. . ." Moreover, blacks are often hired to teach in black studies programs that are currently being phased out of existence; they have limited opportunity for attaining tenure and/or promotion to a higher academic rank unless they, as Nickson points out, "fall into the 'academic identity' of (their) departments," but at the expense of their own black identity.

Coupled with the problem of socialization with and academic acceptance by white colleagues is the concern about the perception held by many white students that black faculty members are academically inferior to white professors, simply because of the color of their skin. The impact of these and other problems on black academicians frequently lead to frustration, hopelessness, and resignation.

It appears that black administrators on majority campuses are more acceptable than black faculty, especially in terms of sheer numbers, but they, too, become disenchanted with the roles that have been relegated to them. Far too often they are given responsibilities but not the power or the authority commensurate with their positions. Even though a few black administrators have been appointed as key officers in academic administrations, as McPhail observes, most are appointed as "Assistant to . . ." with responsibilities in the area of minority affairs. Consequently, they have limited opportunity for becoming involved in critical college-wide issues. Moreover, they are often viewed by key administrators and faculty as public relations

officers and as incompetent academicians, especially if they do not hold academic rank and tenure. The black "Assistant to . . .," isolated from the mainstream of campus affairs, often finds himself functioning as "advisor, friend, ombudsman, tutor and miracle worker" (McPhail) to black students who expect them to eradicate institutional racism.

To ameliorate their conditions and enhance their image, black administrators and faculty on white campuses should, as the writers in these Proceedings argue, actively seek membership on critical campus-wide committees, achieve leadership positions in national organizations in their disciplines, present professional papers at national meetings, actively pursue promotion and tenure, seek teaching assignments at the graduate level, and keep abreast of changing trends and development in their disciplines through continuing education programs.

A concerted effort by black professionals to improve their conditions on white campuses should in turn improve the quality of life for black students at these same institutions. Certainly, the task is not an easy one, but if blacks are to survive and prosper on majority campuses, they must assume the responsibility of breaking down those barriers that militate against them.

Julia C. Elam

FOREWORD

The National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education, founded in October, 1969, was formed as a voluntary, independent association by historically and predominantly black colleges and universities. It is organized to articulate the need for a higher education system where race, income, and previous education are not determinants of either the quantity or quality of higher education. This is an association of those colleges and universities which are not only committed to this ultimate goal, but are now fully committed in terms of their resources, human and financial, to achieving that goal.

The Association proposes, through collective efforts of its membership, to promote the widest possible sensitivity to the complex factors involved in and the institutional commitment required for creating successful higher education programs for students from groups buffeted by racism and neglected by economic, educational and social institutions of America.

To achieve this goal, NAFEO has determined the following priorities:

1. To provide a unified framework representing historically black colleges and similarly situated institutions in their attempt to continue as viable forces in American society;

2. To build the case for securing increased support from federal agencies, philanthropic foundations and other sources;

3. To increase the active participation of Black in the leadership of educational organizations together with memberships on Federal boards and commissions relating to education; and

4. To provide detailed, continuing yearly analyses of constructive information about these colleges and to use that information to help the public develop and maintain a sensitivity to the overall needs of these institutions of higher education.

NAFEO's aim is to increase the flow of students from minority and economically deprived families, mostly Black, into the mainstream of our society.

In carrying out its four major specific objectives, NAFEO serves as a --

1. Voice for Historically Black Colleges

2. Clearinghouse of Information on Black Colleges

3. Coordinator in Black Higher Education

4. Presidential Resource.

The National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education represents the historically and predominantly black colleges and universities of this nation. There are some 114 NAFEO institutions, consisting of private 2-year and 4-year institutions, public 2-year and 4-year institutions, as well as graduate and professional schools located in fifteen southern states, four northern states, one mid-west and western state, the Virgin Islands and the District of Columbia. These institutions enroll upwards of 200,000 students and graduate more than 30,000 students annually with undergraduate, graduate and professional degrees. Since 1966, these institutions have awarded more than a quarter of a million undergraduate, graduate and professional degrees. They are the providers of equal educational opportunity with attainment and productivity for thousands of students.

UNIVERSITY FAMILY: INSTITUTIONAL COMMITMENT TO EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR BLACK STUDENTS

Beverly Brown Dupre, Ph.D., Chairman
Department of Elementary and Secondary Education
Southern University, New Orleans

According to H. R. Bowen, the last decade might be characterized as the age of Equal Opportunity and Affirmative Action.[1] Even though mandates regarding affirmative action have in many cases precipitated and intensified these matters, the desire for incorporating minorities into the mainstream of predominantly white institutions has been of concern on many campuses. This concern is based upon the premise that college gives each person the chance to work out his exploration and experimentation, that it provides encouragement and support, and that it offers the chance to learn in both the cognitive and affective spheres.

With the increased desire of many institutions to attract minorities to their respective campuses, difficulties associated with implementation created new considerations. Some of these considerations include recruitment, retention, campus involvement, role models, cultural understanding, faculty and peer acceptance.

It can be hypothesized that federal government regulations had the power to mandate the admission of minorities to university campuses, but that the affective domain of campus life could not be mandated. The extent to which minorities would be incorporated into the mainstream of campus life would have to be developed through a program of concern and desire. In addition, the campus atmosphere would have to reflect the leadership afforded in the area of human concern. "Good faith" activities, as a means of incorporating minorities into the campus mainstream, would have to call upon all components of the university.

Acceptance would be reflected in academic and financial matters as well as in student life and development areas. Human attitudes regarding the acceptance of minorities in relation to the delivery of services would have to be deliberated as a means of avoiding apathy. Attempts on the part of minorities to resist isolation and remoteness would also be of concern.

What follows is a report of a recent case study of an institution that cared. The creation of a family type environment provided a means for accepting minorities without altering scholarly endeavors of the campus. This was the challenge undertaken by Loyola University.

The College

Loyola University, a medium-sized private institution, is located in a large urban community. Historically, the university was populated by a predominantly white constituency. During the late 60's and 70's concerted effort was made to attract minorities to the campus. At best, efforts provided for the enrollment of a small percentage of minorities. The university enrolled an average of 95% non-minority and 5% minority students. A few minority faculty members were also hired. In spite of "good faith activities" and concern on the part of the leadership, efforts to mainstream and maintain the maximum interest of minorities and to alter the behavior of campus life proved worthy of further consideration.

Based upon information obtained from the Louisiana Coordinating Council, Loyola was cognizant of the finding that a higher number of blacks received degrees in private colleges than in the public colleges.[2] The one-to-one relationship in student services was viewed as the reason for this success. Loyola was desirous of offering a one-to-one relationship to its students, but the services appeared not be be reaching the black students.

Development of a Commitment to Black Students

In the early '70's, Loyola University recognized that it should assume responsibilities in the community. As such, goals were formulated for her role in the community during the 1970's. It was felt that the institution should make a serious effort to probe and uncover the latent unity of the community people, black and white, so that together they could build a richer future for their children. Conscious efforts were made in order to prepare the educationally underprivileged for college life and to make a college education available to them. In addition, the institution saw the need, within the limit of available resources, to encourage and support such programs and institutes which would be of maximum service to the community.

As the 1970's progressed, approximately ten percent of the students enrolled at the university were black. The community in which the university is located has a population of approximately fifty percent black.

The Plan

During the mid 1970's, at the opening faculty convocation, the President of Loyola University led a discussion on the role of the Black Student at the institution. The discussion involved students, faculty members, and administrators. It was generally agreed that the convocation was a worthwhile discussion on an important topic, but much

more remained to be said and many things needed to be done. Shortly afterward, the President called for volunteers from throughout the university to serve on a task force to study the role and the special needs of black students.

As a means of being true to its mission, the university felt the need to make every effort sensitive to the needs of its black students and to respond to these needs with positive action. A short time afterward, the task force held its first meeting. At that meeting the President spoke of the importance of the assignment and said that the task force was to develop its own mandate, subject only to his approval. The fifteen persons present at the meeting elected the Vice President for Academic Affairs as chairman and a faculty colleague as staff secretary. Of the 15 persons, 11 were non-black and 4 were black.

The goal of the task force was to conduct a self study of the university's role in providing increased opportunities for black students. Activities to be conducted for the realization of the goal included an investigation of a) course offerings, b) student recruitment strategies, c) faculty/staff recruitment policies, and d) other questions related to educational opportunities for black students.

The charge of the task force would provide the opportunity to put the full weight of the university's faculty and staff behind their good intentions. The consensus was that good will did exist among the university's faculty and staff.

Membership on the task force remained relatively stable throughout the year of its operation. There were fifteen members present at the first task force meeting. Of that group, all but two remained active. Several others joined the task force later. The members spent a significant portion of their time in the task force work because they were concerned about the issue of improving opportunities for black students on the campus. The task force met regularly every two weeks throughout the academic year and through the summer as well. In addition, there were many subcommittee meetings that involved additional hours on the part of members. The contribution of the task force members was paralleled by the cooperation received throughout the university in gathering basic data and materials.

Questionnaires designed by the task force were such that their completion required time and effort on the part of many faculty members and administrative officers. The cooperation received was uniformly high, and all segments of the university provided assistance and cooperation in assisting the task force to complete the assignments within its allotted year.

Implementation

A black president from a neighboring university was invited to serve in a consultative role to the task force. The consultant supported the need for the task force's work but expressed objection to the need for appointing a minority student advisor to serve only black students. This objection was based upon the premise that black students, in selecting a predominantly white institution for their education, were not desirous of being restricted to a black person to serve as their advisor.

The chairman suggested that members of the task force give consideration to questions that constituted the perceived needs of the campus and that subcommittees be assigned to deal with specific needs. Following meetings were devoted to reviewing questions which were formulated by the respective subcommittees. Discussion initiated the formulation of additional questions and further areas of inquiry. The need to design university questionnaires for distribution to the various university components was viewed as the next possibility.

Sample copies of questionnaires were reviewed and a decision was made to distribute copies to the departmental chairpersons, deans, program directors and line officers. Interviews with persons identified by committee members for the purpose of obtaining additional information were determined.

Continued meetings, focusing on periodic reviews of literature related to the task, were scheduled.[3] Discussion centered around current articles pertaining to the ethnic backgrounds of professionals and the procedures for evaluating an institution's commitment to minorities.[4]

The committee, which originally was comprised of thirteen faculty members and two students, was increased to include two additional black students. In addition, the committee conferred with resource persons and consultants. The results of a compus survey conducted by a faculty member of the Counseling and Career Development Center provided input to the committee's deliberations.[5] One consultant guided the committee through illustrations cited in professional literature as a means of providing indepth information and stimulating thought provoking questions. Means of assessing qualitative data were also discussed.[6]

Analysis of Information Received

As questionnaires were returned to the committee members, it became evident that guidelines for reviewing the questionnaires were needed. It was decided that the questions themselves would act as the

model for the review process. In addition, the answers would be analyzed and categorized in an attempt to find a general consensus. The answers could then be summarized into an overview.

The committee was then divided into subcommittees for the purpose of reviewing the questionnaires. These subcommittees dealt with 1) Departmental Questionnaires, 2) Deans and Personnel Office Questionnaires, and 3) Student Affairs Questionnaires. The subcommittees were to prepare summary reports within the period of a month. Results of the questionnaire suggested areas of strengths and weaknesses. Recommendations to administrators responsible for university components assessed were formulated. It was determined that in many decision making areas on campus, representation by black participants was needed.

Some information received on questionnaires focused on the need to bring black speakers to the campus in order to provide a black perspective for students. Other concerns dealt with academic skills and negative self-images of minority students.

All recommendations formulated by the subcommittees were reviewed by members of the task force. The task force discussed each recommendation and agreed upon the final formulation of recommendations.

Task Force Recommendations

As a result of the task force activities, final recommendations, accompanied by a descriptive rationale, were submitted to the President. Areas in which recommendations were made were 1) Admissions, 2) Financial Aid, 3) Intramurals, 4) Food Service, 5) Counseling, 6) Personnel, 7) Guest Lecturers, 8) Deans and Departments, 9) Health, 10) Student Government Association, 11) Student Union and 12) Housing.

The task force concluded that a need existed for a university-wide effort to make all members of the Loyola community aware of the special needs of the minority student: the black student, the foreign student, and the white student from a poor or culturally deprived background. However, even though the report was restricted to the needs of black students, it was noted that the problem involved groups other than black students; therefore, the recommendations were to be taken in their widest application.

It was the general consensus of the membership, based upon an investigation into every aspect of the university's operation and into every faculty and administrative office, that overt racism did not exist

within the institution. The task force did uncover what it considered to be a lack of understanding, awareness and/or sensitivity on the part of some individuals and certain offices regarding the particular needs of black students.

This discovery was not thought to be exceptional or unusual, and the report was not intended to be a criticism of the university by the task force. Rather, the task force wished that the criticism be taken as a call to action on the part of all concerned and that the university family would accept the challenge to overcome the lingering vestiges of prejudice that should not exist at the institution.

The task force did not wish to exclude itself from the general criticism. Each of the white members of the task force found his or her work to be an educational experience in that each gained an increasing awareness of the significance and magnitude of the problem. It was the hope of the task force that the recommendations would be taken as they were intended: suggestions - hopefully well-founded - that would advance the primary role of the university in providing education for all students as well as for improving the delivery of services by administrative offices to faculty and students alike.

Assignment of Task Force Recommendations

Discussions regarding the work of the task force were viewed by faculty, staff and administrators as being a meaningful and monumental task. Acceptance of the recommendations for institutional change was viewed as a desired objective.

Responsibilities for the implementation of the task force recommendations were divided by the President among members of the Administrative Council. It was felt that any effort to increase understanding regarding the depth of the problem should be carefully undertaken. Leadership would be sought from those areas of the university, such as the departments of Psychology, Sociology and the Counseling Center in planning for sensitivity experiences. Practical measures for remediation in areas identified were to be initiated by the respective member of the Administrative Council. The general consensus was that paternalism was not be be substituted for indifference. In contrast, it was viewed that a long range, enlightened program would serve to advance significantly the goal of racial harmony on the campus.

Conclusion

The work of the task force on Educational Opportunities for Black Students was a successful activity. Due to the high spirit of cooperation that was received from faculty members and administrators, the task force was able to complete its assignment within the allotted year.

The basic nature of the work conducted by the task force served the purpose of raising the consciousness level of the university regarding the need for providing additional opportunities for minorities. A by-product of the task force's activity was the fact that steps for remediation were taken before the formal initiation of the university's plan.

What can be learned from the Loyola experience? If the situation at Loyola is generic to other institutions, it would appear that administrative leadership, combined with the desire on the part of a committed faculty and staff, would produce a catalytic effect. Also of significance is the philosophy of an open administration. When administration identifies problem areas and presents them to the university family in a spirit of support and confidence which lacks innuendoes of suspicion, the dedication of those persons who serve is renewed. Only then can the goals and mission of an institutions be fulfilled.

Footnotes

[1]H.R. Bowen, System Theory, Excellence and Values: Will They Mix? (Washington, DC: National Association of College and University Business Officers, 1977).

[2]Louisiana Coordinating Council of Higher Education, Students Enrolled in Institutions of Higher Education, (Baton Rouge, LA. 1975).

[3]J.E. Roueche and R. W. Kirk, Catching Up: Remedial Education (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1973).

[4]Everett C. Ladd and Seymour M. Lipsett, "Professors' Religious and Ethnic Backgrounds, "Chronicle of Higher Education, (22 September 1975), p. 2.

[5]R. J. Miller, "Black Student Attitudes Towards Student Affairs Services" (New Orleans, LA: Loyola University, 1975, Mimeographed).

[6]Research and Development Center for Teacher Education, "Self Report Inventory" (Austin: University of Texas, 1959).

[7]Loyola University, "Task Force on Educational Opportunities for Black Students" (New Orleans, LA. 1976, Mimeographed).

ISSUES THAT IMPACT ON BLACK STUDENTS ON WHITE CAMPUSES

Carole Hall Hardeman, Ph.D., Director
Southwest Center for Human Relations
Studies, The University of Oklahoma-Norman

Blacks constitute approximately eleven percent of college enrollments. About two-thirds of these students attend White institutions while the remainder are enrolled in historically black institutions. Today, then, let us consider some of the issues that directly impact on these students and the universities which they attend.

In a study conducted in 1976 by the Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP), questionnaire responses of first-time, full-time freshmen enrolling in a representative sample of 393 institutions, including 29 black institutions, were collected. Asin and Cross have provided an analysis of these data in a recent study which analyzed black students in black and white institutions.

Aspirations, Values, Expectations, and Motivations of Entering College Freshmen

Data from the above study indicate that the majority of Blacks in White institutions reported that they received better than average grades in high school and that prior to entering college felt adequately prepared for obtaining success in their college coursework.

DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS BY HIGH SCHOOL GRADES
Percentages

	Blacks in Black Institutions		Blacks in White Institutions	
High School Grades	Men	Women	Men	Women
A/A+	1.5	4.3	3.3	5.3
A-	2.5	4.9	5.1	10.4
B+	7.6	16.6	16.2	19.6
B	27.1	23.6	22.0	29.9
B-	14.7	17.2	17.0	13.8
C+	24.1	18.5	25.1	12.7
C	21.6	13.4	9.7	8.3
D	0.9	1.5	1.7	0

Reasons cited for making the decision to enter college are -

1. To be able to get a good job
2. To learn more about things that interest me
3. To be able to make more money
4. To gain a general education appreciation
5. To prepare myself for graduate or professional school
6. To meet new and interesting people.

Interestingly enough, in identifying reasons for attending a particular college, the response most often selected by the Black student was "This College has a very good academic reputation." The next most selected reason was "I was offered financial assistance." The third preference was "This college offers special educational programs" (undefined, but "special" is not believed to infer "remedial").

Family Background

Over 40 percent of the fathers of Black student had less than a high school education as opposed to 13 percent of the fathers of White students. Accordingly, 15 percent of the Black students' fathers had a baccalaureate or higher degree as compared with about 45 percent of the White students' fathers. The fathers of students attending predominantly Black institutions tended to have somewhat higher educational levels or degrees than those of Blacks attending white colleges. The patterns with respect to the mother's education were similiar. The mothers of Black women tended to be somewhat less educated than the mothers of Black men. In addition, the mothers of Black men and women attending Black schools tended to be better educated than the mothers of Blacks at White institutions. The mothers of both sexes were in general better educated than the fathers.

Financial Status

Fifty-six percent of Black students said that their parents, because of low income, could not help them with college as compared with 19 percent of White students. Sixteen percent of Black students were heads of households or single parents, compared to 4 percent of whites. Ninety percent of Black students received financial aid, compared with 55 percent of Whites. In 1976-77, Blacks attending Black institutions received an average of $1,851 in aid per student whereas Blacks attending White universities received $3,116 per student.

Degree Plans and Intended Majors

These students reflected their commitment to higher education by expressing very high degree aspiration. Their interest and motivation are indicated by their projections of getting Ph.D.'s, M.D.'s, LL.B's, etc. Black men in Black institutions tended to favor business and technical fields such as data processing, computer programming, and drafting, while Blacks in White institutions tended to select health fields, social science, math, and statistics more often. Fewer White men than Black men chose education as a major. The biological and physical sciences were named more often by White men than by Black men.

Black women in Black colleges chose business, education and the humanities in greater numbers, whereas Black women in White institutions tended to select biology, English, engineering, history, and political science more often. White women tended to be more traditional in their choice of field, naming education and health fields more often than did Black women.

On Self-Concept and Values

Blacks in White schools gave themselves very high ratings on athletic prowess and ability to attract the opposite sex. Blacks at White and Black institutions were more likely than Whites to rate themselves high on all traits except academic ability and mathematical ability.

Values and Goals

When asked to rate the importance of a number of life goals, Blacks at Black institutions were more likely to value societal goals and contributions, whereas Blacks at White institutions gave high priority to personal gain. Some examples of goals rated high by Blacks in Black institutions include "making a theoretical contribution to science" and "participating in a community action program." In contrast, Blacks at White institutions valued "receiving recognition from others," "becoming financially well-off," and "succeeding in business."

In 1977, a follow-up study of 40,000 of the 186,000 original students who took part in the 1975 study was conducted: a total of 6,657 students returned useable questionnaires. The purpose of the latter study was to examine factors affecting Black students' persistence in college.

The following three sets of predictor variables were included in the regression model: background and personal variables, institutional and environmental variables, and financial aid variables. A fourth set of variables included students' values and attitudes as well as college experiences and behavior.

Based upon the findings, Whites were more likely than Blacks to persist in college full-time through the beginning of their junior years (65 percent vs. 60 percent), while Blacks were more likely to withdraw (21 percent vs. 18 percent for Whites).

Blacks were far more likely than Whites not only to receive aid but to get larger amounts of financial assistance. These differences undoubtedly reflect differences in the parental incomes of the two groups: 68.3 percent of the Blacks reported parental incomes of less than $10,000, compared to only 17.1 percent of the Whites.

The two most significant variables in determining persistence for Blacks and Whites proved to be -

a) The student's degree of involvement in campus life

b) The grades he/she receives in the first two years of college.

The most significant variables for Blacks only were-

a) Degree of involvement in campus activities

b) College GPA

c) Parents' willingness to help finance students' education.

Working 21 hours or more per week had the most significant negative correlation to full-time persistence of Black students.

Financial status weighs heavily on the Black student. Many Black students are burdened with the probability that their college expenses put a strain on an already meager family income. Many of these students suffer from guilt complexes because they feel that they should be contributing to the family income. Yet the data indicate that being poor is sometimes the most positive variable correlate to full-time persistence because these students feel that a college education is the way to improve their chances of getting out of poverty.

For both Black and White students, factors such as past academic achievement, the type of college the student attends, the expectations with which he or she enters college and the number of hours per week the student is employed are all important factors related to persistence or retention.

Black students are considerably more likely to persist full-time in college if they attend predominantly black institutions rather then predominantly white ones. Asten and Cross suggest further research which will identify those particular qualities of Black colleges which create this positive climate. Predominantly white colleges and universities might benefit from such knowledge in seeking to create an environment which has positive effects on the persistence of Black students.

Actual Performance of Black Freshmen in White Universities

Despite the anticipation of a successful college career, Black college students, based upon a 1977 self-administered study, performed poorly in their freshman year (data from freshmen at four white colleges).[2]

Of all racial groups and class levels at white colleges in this particulary study, the black freshman had the greatest difficulty in academic achievements. Only 14 percent of the first year Black students received grades of B or above after their first semester in college, compared with 47 percent of the white freshmen. In several studies it was reported that Black students' academic performance, evidenced by grades received, continued to improve the second and third year, although still lagging considerably behind white students. In all of the studies, many Black students, by the fourth year, had caught up with white students and were doing quite well. According to Willie and McCord,

> A majority (52 percent) of the Black seniors had culumative averages of A or B, compared with 42 percent of the White seniors: as a collectivity, then the Black fourth-year students in white colleges were performing better than the White seniors in these schools. Thus, fourth-year Black students apparently had overcome many of the impediments that tend to interfere with academic excellence during the first three years of college.
>
> Intensive analysis of fourth-year Black students would be most helpful in determining why and how they survived. An understanding of how the Black senior presevered and transcended the difficulties of academic work would be helpful to other Blacks as well as to other whites, who, as we saw, lag behind their Black schoolmates at the senior level. It is particularly important that an intensive analysis be done of fourth-year Black students, compared with first-, second-, and third-year Blacks. Several factors in addition to academic preparation may be involved. Of all Blacks at the four colleges in our study, 61 percent, compared with 70 percent of the Whites, classified themselves as above-average achievers in high school. Only 4 percent of the Blacks and 3 percent of the Whites said that they were below average. The large difference in Black and White performance during the freshman year is much greater than expected in the light of this modest difference by race in self-reported high school achievement.

> The outstanding performance of Black seniors is indicative of the motivation and drive that characterizes many Black students at White colleges. Though the grade-point average of Blacks during their first three years of college lags behind that of whites, our study reveals that Blacks are no less ambitious than Whites about continuing their education beyond the bachelor's degree. About seven out of every ten of the Black and White students said that they plan to pursue graduate studies, and nearly one-fourth (24 percent of the Blacks and 23 percent of the Whites) want a doctorate degree.[2]

Failure Symptoms: A Unitary Conglomerate

Negative self-concept, depressed level of aspiration, inadequate motivation, stigmatized ethnicity, and lack of stimulators are, according to Edwards, challenges which plague Black students on White campuses.

Converse to the results of the self-administered questionnaire previously addressed in this paper, the high expectations of Black students--when suddenly thrust into the reality of the environment of White colleges--frequently melt like snowballs in the sunshine. It must be recalled that academic acuity was not one of the areas in which the Blacks in the CIRP study held much confidence.

It is universally accepted that self-concept--or how one feels about self--is a significant factor that markedly affects one's performance. The poorly-prepared, entering college student is doubtful about his own academic success. Previous histories of mediocrity or failure have convinced such students of more failure. These students are set into motion not by a confident sense of self but by a feeble hope that academic miracles will transform them into sophisticated intellectuals. Having been admitted to college on an open admissions basis ("Sink or swim!), Edwards reports, these students are constantly plagued with the gnawing question: "What will be my fate--in college and afterwards?

Level of Aspiration

Establishing realistic achievable levels of aspiration is related to the self-concept factor. If students are lacking in confidence regarding their ability to achieve in classwork, then how can they aspire to become professionals in areas that require as prerequisities these same courses? Courses such as math, physics, statisticcs are feared by such students; yet these courses are required for careers in engineering, computer programming, geology, microbiology, etc. The lack of visible

Black role models who have successfully overcome seemingly insurmountable barriers to enter careers in fields such as science, technology, medicine, or aerospace is seen as a deterrent to high aspiration of Black students. If long-range goals seem like "pipe dreams," then short-term goals are the obvious alternative. According to Edwards, "If this be true, then goal-setting behaviour related to 'making it' is imminently futile. It makes more sense to settle for a hedonistically oriented set of goals: Live for today and today's pleasures. Let the good times roll!!!"

Motivation

There are both biochemical and psychological dynamics operative in motivation. One's perceptions of self and of society produce the energy and the direction of behavior toward a goal. Energy and direction are the essentials of motivation. Clearly formulated goals generate enthusiasm. And enthusiasm triggers the necessary endocrine secretions (e.g., adrenalin, blood sugar, etc.).

Many Blacks tend to enter college with a dynamic sense of their inability to cope with the rigorous demands of higher education or to compete with students who are more advantaged in terms of language sophistication and the repertoire of concepts born of earlier guidance and experience. There is likely to be nothing inherent in their elected curriculum that 'turns them on.' Sensibly, they withdraw from study: the vocabulary of lectures and of textbooks is alien--a foreign language; required reading materials are so complicated that they cannot understand them; trouble with vocabulary and comprehension, therefore, makes their reading rate very slow; and the ideas discussed in lectures and textbooks are so unrelated to their experiences that they cannot become enthusiastically motivated. Consequently, problems with communication skills (i.e., reading, writing, listening and speaking) conspire against the learning process of Blacks and other minority groups. Frustration dampens enthusiasm, motivation dims, and withdrawal behavior becomes evident and defeating.

Ethnicity

Racial or national origin often plays a significant role among the factors that militate against academic achievement. Blacks often suffer the most because of their ethnic visibility. One knows almost immediately that a black is a black. Spanish surname students are somewhat less visible. Orientals, American Indians and Eskimos are, of course, visible, but their deviation from the Caucasian "standard" is less marked and, therefore, less difficult for the majority group to handle.

The visible minority finds itself suffering from "minority paranoia." Society has overtly or subtly said:

> You are inferior intellectually. We do not expect you to achieve. We may tolerate you and provide a token open admissions entrance policy to allow you to come into our instituitons of higher education but you will fail. We even have statistics to support our prognosis of your imminent failure.

Psychologically, ethnicity becomes inextricably bound up with one's self-concept, with one's feelings of academic inadequacy, and, hence, with one's depressed level of aspiration and inadequate motivation. Edwards challenges educators to move with educational and psychological expertise and sensitivity--and expeditiously--to devise programs that will address themselves almost simultaneously to these problems, for "otherwise, we will make mockery of the striving of blacks and other minorities in their attempts to easily, confidently, comfortably, and successfully move into the academic, vocational, and profes-sional mainstream of America."[3]

Faculty Attitudes and Perceptions of Blacks Students on White Campuses

In a study conducted by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan, a cadre of researchers sought to study the impact of increased black enrollments on integrated white institutions. Of particular interest to the issues addressed in this paper are Chapters twelve and thirteen: "Administrative and Faculty Perceptions" (Blackburn and Peterson), and "Faculty and Departmental Response Patterns: Individual and Contextual Predictors" (Mingle). Blackburn and Peterson ask:

> Because administrators were more directly involved in initiating enrollment increases and negotiating with black students during crises, was the impact different on them than it was on faculty? Did the commitments of leaders differ from those of other administrators who served in support roles? Did departmental faculty respond differently because of the nature of their discipline or because differential responses were called for? Did personal attributes (age, for example) account for how individual faculty perceived the impact of the increased black enrollments? Were there differences between institutions that showed different degrees of conflict?"

The various factors examined included "Breadth of Goals for Blacks," as measured by institutional Black priority, non-academic support, affirmative action, and integrating concern for Blacks.

The second factor was "The Willingness and Commitment." This factor seems to suggest the intentions of the administator and faculty respondents toward Blacks and their perception of their own and other groups' commitments to Blacks. THIS INTENT TO SUPPORT BLACK CONCERNS SHOULD NOT BE CONFUSED WITH AN ASSESSMENT OF ACTUAL BEHAVIOR.

"Racial Climate and Activity," "Interracial Trust/Conflict," and "Higher Education Pluralism - Integration" rounded out the remaining factors examined.

Results

> In general, Blackbury and Peterson report that--administrators and faculty demonstrated essentially the same moderate social values, with administrators expressing stronger or more favorable views about minority issues. While variations did exist, on the average administrators responded with concern for racial issues and believed that they and their institutions had given a positive response to an important social matter. In the main, faculty views paralleled those of administrators, and the differences were more of degree than of kind.
>
> The principal differences among administrators occurred across functional lines, not by level of appointment. Those working in minority affairs held the most critical views of their institutions' success. The differences which occurred among faculty were also exclusively related to age and stage in career. The younger faculty, with the occasional exception of assocate professors, held a more critical posture. But regardless of age or academic discipline, their day-to-day behavior changed very little.

Faculty on a college campus are the principal operatives, and departments are the principal organizational units. Therefore, the study (Black Students on White Campuses; Peterson, Mingle, et. al.) stressed that an assessment of the impact of Blacks on higher eduation must look closely at what happens in the day-to-day, week-by-week interactions and relationships between students and faculty. Nine departments were selected for special attention. While those departments selected did not necessarily have large numbers of Black majors, they did and do typically provide required general education courses and, hence, have high Black enrollments, especially at the introductory level. The departments selected were:

English
History
Biology
Chemistry
Mathematics
Economics
Political Science
Psychology
Sociology

In the survey of faculty, with interviews of 36 department chairpersons (nine disciplines at each of 4 institutions), answers to two central questions were sought:

1. What has been the impact of increased Black enrollment on departments and what are departmental characteristics which predict those impacts and responses?

2. What has been the response of faculty members to increased Black student enrollments and what are the individual and departmental contextual characteristics which predict that response?

Mingle concluded that, when faculty members were asked general questions about the impact of blacks on higher education and their attitudes toward racial issues, the overwhelming majority responded moderately but favorably (Chapter 12). But when the role-specific attitudes and behaviors of those who might have felt the greatest impact of blacks were examined, there was a distinct shift toward nonresponsive attitudes, and some even expressed negative perceptions. Faculty teaching large numbers of black undergraduates in introductory courses were obviously key people. Yet they appeared to be frustrated and pessimistic about the impact of their efforts.

One of the most encouraging developments in higher education in recent years has been the emergence of teacher effectiveness programs and research on the teaching and learning process, activities which Cross believes were brought about by the presence of 'new students' in higher education. "Without knowing it," Cross say, "students with poor academic backgrounds have challenged college instructors to look at their ability to teach. Traditional college students who are selected for their motivation and skill for academic work are no challenge to pedagogy." The findings of this research suggest strongly the need for such programs for faculty. We know little about the relationship between response and outcome, but we do know that the faculty and departments in this study have been relatively unaffected by and unresponsive to the increase in black enrollments in their institutions.

Unfortunately, we were unable to examine the response of Black faculty to Black students. A comparison of their response with those of white faculty would provide valuable information. We suspect that Black faculty, to a greater degree than white faculty, are able to respond with special help while keeping their expectations high. On the other hand, there is no reason to believe that their formal pedogogical training is any different from that of their white colleagues.

The effects demonstrated by the contextual variables also have implications for faculty development programs. The normative climate of the departments did influence faculty behavior in the classrooms. Faculty development programs which are departmentally based or which involve significant numbers of faculty from the same department would appear to have additional reinforcement power.

Finally, a discussion of an institution's goals and purposes and their compatability with the abilities and aspirations of the student body is essential. As the emphasis in some institutions shifts to the undergraduate levels and toward more open admissions, increasing numbers of faculty will be faced with the disparity between their expectations for students and their own role and reality. While "a clearer conception of institutional goals will help, a reward and incentive system which would direct faculty energies toward creative and effective responses to this new clientele is essential. Information on what those responses are is a prerequisite."[4]

In this paper, the following issues that impact on Black students on white campuses have been examined:

- Aspirations, values, expectations and motivations of entering college freshmen, based upon self-administered questionnaires
- Factors affecting Black students' persistence in college
- A realistic assessment and profile of the Black student on the white campus as perceived by Black professionals in higher education
- Faculty and administrative perceptions and attitudes about the impact of Black students on white campuses.

The picture that has been painted presents many challenges for the Black community--for when all has been said and done, it's Black people who must take the responsibility to assist our sons and daughters in developing a realistic approach to preparing for their future.

According to numerous empirical studies, the Black student approaches university life with an almost childlike naivete, coupled with seriously lacking study skills.

The "cultural shock" which these students experience is, on one hand, sad and regrettable, but, on the other, totally unnecessary. Where are all of the Black graduates of white colleges? Why do we keep our young so "innocent" about the "real world" of academe? Why haven't our young been better informed about a subject so vital as their futures?

The five failure symptoms of Black students as identified and defined by Edwards become crystal clear when compared with the Blakeman-Patterson and Mingle studies of perceptions of administrators and faculty on college campuses. One wonders how so many of these students have managed to graduate at all.

The situation is grim and the prognosis bleak. The promissory note which guarantees an education to American citizens has been issued without regard to class, caste, race or ethnicity, but the banks of open access, when presented with this draft for payment, have not fully honored the commitment to Black Americans.

The period of the late sixties and early seventies was characterized and punctuated with numerous seminars, in-service training, workshops, dialogues, monologues, rap sessions, brain storms, think tanks, and every other type of session imaginable. At these gatherings educators were "informed" about the learning styles, cultural values, unique characteristics, history, music, art, literature, religion, food preferences, and hair styles of Afro-American-Colored-Black-Negro persons. Yet the ACT, SAT, CAT, and GPA, not to mention math skills, reading skills, and ability to express themselves skillfully in spoken and written language, continue to deteriorate for Black students.

The answer in my opinion is not dependent on what others think or know about us or what they can teach our children, but rather lies in our own ingenuity and integrity as a race. What are we willing to do for ourselves and for our own?

Every Black adult, whether a parent or not, regardless of profession or occupation, must become actively involved in the EOP (enhancement of potential) of our most precious treasure, our young. If we are indeed concerned about the educational future of young Black Americans, we must also be concerned about their neighborhood environments, their nutrition, their health care, the availability of illicit drugs, and stereotypical media images.

There is a considerable lack of interest by Black parents in school activities. I have been to PTA and parent advisory meetings where there were no more than 3 or 4 parents in attendance (And that was at a suburban middle-class Black school!).

It seems that there is but one institution remaining where Black folks can get together and discuss community issues. It's the most segregated hour in America—the eleven o'clock hour on Sunday morning. Time must be set aside for us to devote to the discussion of issues that impact on the education, dreams, and aspirations of the Black learners, for dreams deferred too long and too often become nests where hopelessness and frustration are born.

Community Centers for the Improvement of Study Skills should be developed in every city, village and hamlet in America. We should operate these centers with our own financial and human resources. They could be housed in church basements, Urban League centers, YMCA's and YWCA's, or in school cafeterias on weekends and evenings. Activities at the center should be well-structured, and strict discipline should be the rule. Can you imagine what would happen to our college-bound youth if each high school student went to a community study center each evening for three hours? At these centers students could amass a wealth of knowledge and skills. One evening each week could be used in communication skills, human relations and public speaking skills. (Linguistic specialists have determined that students who speak sub-standard English have low self-esteem. When placed in situations where they are surrounded by persons who have an excellent command of standard English, they tend to have a low regard for their own speaking patterns.) Role-playing activities could include the enactment of every conceivable type of situation which these students could expect to find in college, from encounters with the financial aid officer to meeting new students to class-room recitation. Personal experiences of every type could be submitted for role playing by numerous persons in the community.

Every interested citizen should donate time and energy in some way to the center. These various roles could include:

Serving as role models	Personal tutoring
Personal counseling	Cooking nutritional snacks or refreshments
Health Screenings	Teaching study skills, etc.

The centers could enlarge upon activities to include the entire family unit or concentrate solely on academic and study skill training.

I would suggest only one don't. Do NOT solicit funds from outside the community. The solicitation of federal or city funds would ruin the entire concept. Seek contributions from Black organizations, businesses, churches, and private citizens. If the center begins as a self-sustaining one, it can't be suddenly closed because of external forces.

Finally, we as Black educators and parents must begin to tell our young the truth. We must tell them that they will excel in those activities in which they invest the most time, whether they are academic or social. We must tell them that as minority persons, they must still be better than the competition in order to just keep up. We must tell our young sorority and fraternity sisters and brothers that the "stomp shows" are fine when kept in the proper perspective, but that there are no critical demands in forecast in the job market for persons who have perfected the art of STOMPING! We must tell them that most "A" students spend a minimum of three hours of study time for each one hour of class time. We must tell them that we as a race of

people are not perceived by others as being brilliant, bright, intellectual, intelligent, or even smart. But, we must not let others' perceptions of us affect our self-concepts or our determination to excel.

We must tell them that matriculating at college is a challenge to all people, regardless of race, and that they must study harder as freshmen than they have ever studied in their lives. Everyone before them has had to make this adjustment--and so will their sons and daughters after them. We must tell them that if they can forget about immediate gratification and learn to roll with the punches, that this, too, will pass--and so will they!

We must tell them that there are those of us whom they can call upon when times get rough, that in us they have a friend or friends on whom they can depend while they are away from their homes and their families. Yes, we must tell them all of these and other truths as we remind them and assure them of our love and concern.

The present administration of this country seems determined to dismantle the foundation upon which this country has gained a reputation for being a democracy, but we as a people have always survived. We have survived because of our integrity, intelligence, and tenacity. I predict that this era is <u>just another episode</u> in the history of an infallible and indestructible people.

In closing, the words of Mary McLeod Bethune seem as appropriate in 1982 as they were in 1955 when she wrote her last will and testament to all Black people:

> "I leave you love
> I leave you hope
> I leave you a thirst for education
> I leave you faith
> I leave you racial dignity
> I leave you a desire to live harmoniously with other races
> I leave you finally a responsibility to our young people. Our children must never lose their zeal for building a better world."

Footnotes

1. Gail E. Thomas, Editor, Black Students in Higher Education Conditions and Experiences in the 1970's (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1981).

2. Charles V. Willie and Arline Sakuma McCord, Black Students at White Colleges (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972).

3. Kenneth Hall and Alfred Young, Editors, Education and the Black Experience (California: R & E Research Associates, Inc., 1979).

4. Marvis W. Peterson, Robert T. Blackburn, et al, Black Students on White Campuses: The Impact of Increased Black Enrollments (Michigan: The University of Michigan, 1978).

BLACKS ON WHITE CAMPUSES: PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES

Edward Jackson, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of English
State University of New York - Oswego

There are a number of issues which affect blacks on a white college campus. First, there is the problem of geography, where the college is located; second, how many blacks attend the college - the quantity or number; and finally, how these two factors affect the quality of life on the white college campus for blacks.

Geography

The college where I teach is located in rural upstate New York, a bastion of conservatism. Oswego is a small Catholic town where the black population is less than one percent. Not only is there a small neligible black population in the town, but there is also a small black population on campus.

Quantity

According to a SUNY (Oswego) report, "In 1981, there was an estimated one hundred and eleven black students on a campus of seven thousand students."[1] There were six full-time faculty members on a faculty of nearly five hundred. Obviously, there is little or no role modeling for black students on this campus.

Quality of Life for Students

If a college is located in an isolated community, it reinforces isolation for both black and white students. What one says about the quality of life for the black student, one could also say for the white student. One must argue, however, that there is a difference in the quality of life for the black student on a predominantly white college campus. Obviously, the isolation for blacks is greater. There is the social isolation which results from the fact that blacks are not generally found in the "mainstream" of campus activities. When rock groups are invited to the campus, more often than not they are groups which appeal to the white students rather than the blacks. Black young people are more apt ot listen to "Earth, Wind and Fire," Smokey Robinson or Rick James than they are to "Kiss," "Alabama" or Pat Benatar.

Since more black women than black men attend college, the social isolation is greater for the black female. There is an unspoken taboo against interracial dating; thus a black female often has to "share" the companionship of the available black males or be left alone in her dormitory room on weekends. There is limited opportunity off campus for social activities because all the bars and recreational centers are white.

If a black student is religious and is protestant, he is going to have a problem if he or she wishes to attend church. First, the church remains the most segregated institution in American life. Second, black people worship differently from white people. Michael Harrington has written that the church for black people "remains a meeting place, a moment of freedom and deep expressiveness,"[2] an "expressivness" which, as Harrington goes on to say, "can be determined by ear."[3] White people are zombies not only in the classroom but also in the pews.

Then, there is the problem of food. We, as blacks, eat the same foods that whites eat, but often we prepare them differently. Sometimes it is called "soul food." Institutional food is always one of the objects of protest by college students. "The food is terrible" is a common complaint, but imagine the intensity of this complaint from black students.

Another problem that is faced by black students is room assignments. There are all kinds of "horror" stories. Sometimes, a minority student will be assigned a room with a student who is a racist. One student told me that his roommate was always looking at his behind. When he asked him why, the white replied that he had been told that black people had tails. Another minority student said that his roommate locked up his personal effects because he thought that all black people stole. The stress of this type of living arrangements is unimaginable. Before the number of blacks on campus reached current levels, it was difficult for a black student to rent housing off campus to avoid these types of incidents. Because of the increasing number of black students who rent in the town, such incidents are less likely to occur.

It is very difficult for black students to counter the "lack of sensitivity" found on a white campus because they often do not hold offices in the student government or other campus organizations. In my ten years at a predominantly white college, I know of only one black candidate for office. An extremely racist campaign was conducted against the black candidate. Although he lost, he, surprisingly, finished third in a field of seven. Not all the white students were persuaded by racist rhetoric, but the fact that racism surfaced indicates the isolation of blacks from the body politic of student government.

Of primary importance is the problem of academics. A black student often has to be careful, much more careful, about what professors he selects. A philosophy professor told one of my colleagues there was no minority student at Oswego who could make a "B" in a philosophy course.

In class discussions, some white professors refer to minorities as "you people." Some will go so far as to say, "you people don't belong here." All white professors are not racists and some are sympathetic to the minority student's plight; however, most are not. One of the misconceptions in the academic world is that black people are exclusively dumb; that is, it is not those black students who perform poorly; it is all black students.

What concerns me is that "the black dropout rate is triple that of whites in predominantly white institutions."[4] Since most black students come from urban environments, it is not uncommon to find a disproportionate number suffering from depression, paranoia, isolation, alienation and loneliness when thrust into a rural environment offering few if any support systems. Some of their problems are personal, heterosexual interpersonal relationships, limited financial resources, and not learning quickly enough to play the "academic games." Most researchers who have studied the black dropout problem indicate that the constant variable causing so few young black people to attend and graduate from college is economics. Given the recent changes in federal policy caused by Reaganomics and cutbacks in funds available for higher education, there "are some difficult days ahead,"[5] as Martin Luther King, Jr. so often said. However, despite this bleak scenario, many of the black students survive their experiences on the predominantly white campus. Some of them make the dean's list, and some graduate and go on to graduate studies at universities like Cornell and Harvard. This is a remarkable achievement.

What can be done to alleviate the conditions of isolation and alienation described above? I have suggested to black students that they find their own "niche" and form their own support groups such as the black student union, black dance and drama club and that they organize special black events - not just during black history month.

Quality of Life for Black Professors

I have written about the effects of geography and the quality of life for black students, but what about their impact on black faculty? Since geography plays a part in creating isolation, one of the solutions available to faculty is to live away from the college and commute, in my case a distance of seventy miles. People often ask me why I commute so far to get to work. Commuting is a difference in degree rather than in kind since some of the campuses in the State University System are in rural communities; if one chooses to live in a city, one has to commute. In addition, I have a two day schedule, so it is not as bad as it seems.

There is very little contact between black and white colleagues; they rarely socialize together, and unless they are in the same field, they seldom communicate about academic issues. In some instances, the black faculty member serves on departmental and or campus committees; however, committee work is generally impersonal and perfunctory. There is limited opportunity for promotion above the faculty level since the black faculty member is not often privy to the politicking of academia. Those who are able to, transfer to a more "congenial" environment in an urban setting.

One may question why a black professor stays in such a negative situation. The situation is not all "negative." Some are able to integrate into the environment; they are able to work with whites without undue consternation. Others are able to achieve "a separate peace" with freedom.

When I attended a black college, over twenty years ago, black professors were expected to maintain a certain lifestyle. They were expected to wear certain types of clothes, to drive certain types of cars and to belong to the "right" social set. Since I have never taught at a black college, I do not know if such expectations still exist. I do know that the black professor at a black college enjoys a much higher status than a black professor at a white college in terms of his relationship to the community and his students. At a predominantly white college, there are lower expectations for the black professor in terms of his relationship to the students and the larger community. In effect, a black professor in a white college has more freedom.

I would like to comment briefly on the relationship of a black faculty member to a white study body. At a school where ninety-nine percent of the student body is white, the black faculty member sometimes teaches no black students for years. Out of the one hundred students that I teach this semester (Spring 1982), only one student is black, a student whom I had in a previous semester.

The relationship between black faculty and white students varies. It can range from personal to impersonal. He can be popular or unpopular. The racism which a black professor encounters is more often inadvertent or is a product of ignorance. Students sometimes make racist remarks, verbally or written, related to affirmative action, welfare, or women's rights. I have had several arguments with white females students who argue that white females are worse off than black people in the United States but who have no factual evidence to support their contentions, relying only on their emotional rhetoric. It is a cyclical problem.

Despite all of the ambiguities which I have suggested, there is a lot at stake. First of all, <u>most</u> minority students attend white college and universities today although some students of the subject say <u>most</u> minority students still <u>graduate</u> from black colleges.

What is at stake is the implicit survival of a people. The problems outlined in this paper indicate that black colleges have an essential role to play in the continued development of black people. White colleges are needed for the blacks, who against the aforementioned odds, can compete in a hostile enviornment. The white college exists as a metaphor for American society. Blacks cannot renege on their enrollment in white colleges because they must also compete in a hostile white world under conditions similar to those found on the predominantly white college campus.

Footnotes

[1]Report from Office of Special Programs SUNY at Oswego.

[2]Michael Harrington, The Other America (Baltimore: Penguin 962),p.70.

[3]Michael Harrington, The Other America, p. 70.

[4]Ford Foundation Report, Unpublished, 1981.

[5]Martin Luther King, Jr. "I Have Been To The Mountaintop." Speech April 3, 1968 Memphis, Tennessee in Dick Gregory, No More Lies (New York: Perennial Library 1972), p. 345.

BLACKS ON WHITE CAMPUSES: THE COOPERATIVE EDUCATION EXPERIENCE

Kenneth M. Edison, Ed.D.
Director of Training
Center for Cooperative Education
Northeastern University

Introduction

The initial thoughts on and organization for this paper were generated from a paper I wrote as a doctoral student titled "The Black Senior Oral History Project, Northeastern University, 1979: The Black Student Cooperative Education Experience" and my dissertation, Cooperative Education and Career Development at Central State and Wilberforce Universities.

Cooperative education is defined as an instructional strategy that promotes individual career development by integrating study of theory in the classroom with off-campus planned and supervised practice in an employment setting. Cooperative education students alternate between regular campus study and periods of employment in business, industry, government, community and other public service jobs. Career development, in a college setting, generally has to do with academic and student service programs which focus on the process of making appropriate vocational choices over a period of time. The Black collegians and Black alumni in both research projects maintained that their participation in cooperative education as college students contributed significantly to their career development in college and their ability to pursue productive vocations after college.

Cooperative Education and Career Development at Centeral State and Wilberforce Universities was financially supported by the United Negro College Fund, Inc. (UNCF). This study was the first systematic investigation of the career development effects of cooperative education on a sizeable sample of Black college graduates. In all other studies on this topic, Black students or Black alumni were included in the group of "minority" respondents and thus not analyzed as a racial group disaggregated from the racial minority category.

While the UNCF study was conducted on a sample of Black alumni at two predominantly Black Colleges in the North, the findings provide some interesting insight on the benefits of the cooperative education plan to Black collegians matriculating on predominantly white campuses.

This paper will review and discuss the findings and conclusions of the UNCF study within the context of the theoretical and conceptual framework for cooperative education. The post-graduate outcomes of

the alumni respondents will be examined and the implications of these outcomes for Black students at white colleges will be discussed. Finally, the paper will propose directions for research, planning, policy and decision making in program development for cooperative education.

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Many scholars and educators have argued that theoretical knowledge is useless and quickly lost if it is not acquired in the context of practical experience. Included among such professionals are DuBois, Dewey, Whitehead, Coleman, and Schneider. Their disposition concerning learning and working--study and work--is a variation of the principle that theory should be related to practice, school to life, and education to productive living.

DuBois' 1930 essay, "Education and Work," asserted that the field and function of the Black college was to train and to prepare Black college graduates for a productive life of work and contribution to society. He held that this would be best accomplished by Black faculty and administrators embracing the concept that their students be well grounded in theory. This, he asserted, should be supplemented with practical work experience in the Black community. In this way the student would be able to acquire the ability to apply the universal knowledge of theory to his/her particular life circumstances.[1]

Both Dewey and Whitehead were early apologists for the concept of learning from experience. Whitehead's essay, "Aims of Education," and Dewey's Experience and Education maintain that first hand experiential knowledge is the foundation of intellectual life. Learning in the traditional classroom, in their opinion, conveyed secondhand information and as such could never be as significant as immediate work and practice.[2]

Coleman elaborates on a learning theory that contrasts the difference between propositional learning and nontraditional learning. Pruett maintains that--

> The significance of understanding Coleman's theory (of traditional--propositonal and non-traditional--experiential theory of learning) is in realizing the deductive/inductive nature of learning. Whereas traditional learning stresses the movement from generalization to particularization and actualization based on the congnitive development of information, nontraditional learning reverses the process. Thus, the two processes of learning become compatible rather than separate, which allows for a more thorough understanding of the relationship between theory andd practice. Thus, cooperative education affirms the compatability of the theoretical principles underlying propositional and experiential education.[3]

Historical

In 1906, at the University of Cincinnati, Schneider envisioned that cooperative education would solve two problems he had observed in the university environment.

- Many components of professions could not be taught effectively in the classroom, but rather required practical experience.

- Most students either needed to or wanted work while in college, but most of these jobs were either menial or unrelated to the student's career goals.[4]

Wilson stated that the conceptual framework for cooperative education in a college setting should be viewed as an educational system with three interdependent and interactive parts: 1) The institution 2) The students and, 3) The employers. In addition, three conditions must exist:

- The student work experience must be planned for and goal directed as opposed to causal and educationally unrelated to the student's career objectives.

- The institution must assume principal responsibility for integrating work and study.

- The student must be actively involved in the work-study experience, rather than merely being an observer.[5]

A graphic illustration of Wilson's conceptual framework is presented on the following page.

McKinney contends that cooperative education is "feasible" and "functional" for low-income, working class Black students. Cooperative education, she says, is designed to attract, to hold, to motivate and to prepare Black youth for creative involvement and constructive activity in the communities where they reside.[6]

The following discussion of the UNCF study and Black students on white campuses is shaped by the theoretical and conceptual principles of cooperative education which have been outlined in this section.

A Review of the UNCF Study Conclusions

The UNCF investigation of Cooperative Education and non-cooperative education alumni at Central State and Wilberforce Universities was guided by three research questions:

- What are the advantages and disadvantages of cooperative education for the combined group of cooperative education alumni in this study from Central and Wilberforce?

- What are the advantages and disadvantages of cooperative education for the cooperative education alumni from a private Black College with a mandatory program for all students, versus a public Black college with a voluntary program for a portion of its students?

- What are the similarities and differences between cooperative and non-cooperative education alumni who attend the same school?

An examination of the first research question reveals that cooperative education had a clear and definite career development effect on the employment experiences of these alumni. This career development effect had its greatest impact in terms of job preparation after college, career information and planning, and on the job training in careers and occupations that were related to the alumni's academic major. Working while in college, whether through cooperative education or other types of work experiences, was a major undergraduate pursuit of these alumni. It is signifiant that despite their heavy work load, cooperative education alumni had work experiences that were beneficial to their career development and related to their undergraduate academic major.

The beneficial aspects of cooperative education for these alumni were the career development prospects resulting from their cooperative education work assignments. These career development prospects had to do with working in an employment setting that was related to their academic major, earning money to finance their education, cultivating relationships with seasoned professionals in areas of their vocational interests, learning to provide for themselves in different geographical areas, and gaining confidence in their ability to function in a professional capacity. The negative aspects, or disadvantages, of these work experiences had to do with jobs that were not related to their academic majors and vocational interests; interpersonal, job-related issues in their place of employment; and transitional problems related to their movement from the campus to the co-op work site. These kinds of employment issues can arise when students are placed in agencies that cannot offer them experiences related to their academic majors. Such a situation is further aggravated in that the student is assigned to someone who is not concerned with his or her career development. Circumstances of this nature occur because the cooperative education staff often works through an organization's personnel unit and not with the supervisor or department head their students are likely to work with during the co-op work period. Examples of transitional obstacles include problems concerning housing, becoming accustomed to living in a new geographical location, and transportation to and from work. Another important benefit of cooperative education for these alumni

was their testimony to the adequacy of the career information they received, most particularly from the cooperative education department, but also from the faculty in their respective majors and the senior placement office. In other words, cooperative education functioned as the primary career development support system for these alumni and encouraged them to work at being qualified for a productive life of professional work after college. Further, this idea was kept active by stressing the significance of combining education and work activities in preparation for their post-graduate work.

An investigation of the post-graduate benefits of cooperative education reveals that the cooperative education alumni in this study demonstrated growth and development in their respective careers. This is supported by the fact that they all performed well enough on their jobs over a period of time, earned more income than when they first started working after college, acquired leadership and management responsibilities in their jobs, and are by and large satisfied with their respective vocations. Finally, it is evident from the data in this study that cooperative education functioned as one of the college"s catalysts that propelled the cooperative education alumni into professional careers with private companies where Blacks have traditionally been excluded from management and leadership roles.

An analysis of the second research question indicates that the cooperative education alumni from the optional private black college and mandatory public Black institution had experiences similar to those of the combined cooperative education alumni and post-college employment experiences, both of which were advantageous and disadvantageous in nature. The exceptions to this included the fact that more of the cooperative education alumni from the optional-public Black college than from the mandatory-private Black college had work and academic experiences as undergraduates that were related to their academic major and considered themselves well informed as undergraduates concerning career opportunities. Also more Central than Wilberforce cooperative education alumni currently enrolled in graduate and professional degree programs are working with the college co-op work assignments every three months. In addition, since Wilberforce is primarily a liberal arts institution, there is more difficulty in tailoring the available jobs to the student's career needs. Moreover, most faculty in the liberal arts majors seem to prefer that their students pursue graduate study and sometimes feel that the cooperative education work experience prevents their exceptional students from going on to graduate study. This is one of the major reasons that the Wilberforce faculty has implemented the occupational specialties program which increases the faculty's involvement in the career-development-based cooperative education process. This also reinforces the "comprehensive" nature of the Wilbeforce cooperative education program, for the faculty, the administration, and the cooperative education staff work collaboratively with the student in an effort to increase the student's future employment mobility.

Central's optional program, on the other hand, is strongest in the professional oriented colleges where there is strong faculty and employer support for the students pursuing academic majors in these professional based colleges. This, perhaps, explains why the majority of the survey respondents from Central were graduates from the Colleges of Business Administration and Education. Cooperative Education is required for industrial technology majors in the College of Education, and students in the College of Business Administration are encouraged to pursue cooperative education as a part of their undergraduate academic program. Moreover, because Central's cooperative education program has six-month co-op work periods as opposed to the three-month work period at Wilberforce, the employers have a better opportunity to get to know the co-op student, and the co-op student has a better opportunity to learn his or her job responsibilities. This, perhaps, is why more Central alumni than Wilberforce alumni remained with their cooperative education employers after college. Another pertinent factor is that Wilberforce students are placed on their first co-op work assignment either at the end of the freshman year or the beginning of the sophomore year. The Central students, on the other hand, are not placed on their first co-op job assigment until they are juniors. This means that the Central students, more so than the Wilberforce students, are firmly grounded in theory and concepts in their academic majors, are older, more seasoned students, and have obtained more skills. Because there is a stronger relationship between the academic major and the co-op work experience for the Central student, these experiences are less exploratory, and the student becomes committed earlier to the specific career related to the work experience. Finally, this investigation shows that the cooperative education alumni in this study benefited from an optional program where faculty and employer support was strong. On the other hand, in a mandatory program in a small Black college, faculty support increases as the conceptual power of the cooperative education program begins to sustain and drive the operations of the institution and the students begin to reap the career-related benefits associated with cooperative education. Once the faculty and administration begin to be more conscious of the cooperative education philosophy and process, they become more involved with the employer and student in making the philosophy and process work. This tripartite collaboration strengthens the student's career development experience. It also increases the student's post-graduate opportunites for work or professional or graduate study. One further point, it provides the employer with a qualified pool of professionals to meet their human resource needs.

This investigation has shown that cooperative education at Central State and Wilberforce Universities was one of the strong factors which contributed to these alumni becoming productive professionals. Cooperative education also contributed to these alumni's employment mobility.

An examination of the third research question indicates that most of the career development support for cooperative education alumni came from the cooperative education office. This kind of support for non-cooperative education alumni, however, came from the faculty and the senior placement office. This, perhaps, is the reason both alumni groups considered themselves well informed and well prepared for the careers they pursued after college. There were several sources from which the alumni could obtain career development information. Finally, more cooperative education alumni reported a beneficial relationship between their undergraduate work experiences and their academic major.

Both alumni groups worked in similar employment settings after college. The difference was that the cooperative education alumni who worked in private employment settings earned more money and had more salary increases and promotions. For current employment, more non-cooperative education students are moving into private companies, and their salaries are closer to the salaries of the cooperative education alumni. Both groups are relatively satisfied with their current positions and see possibilities for career advancement. Virtually all of these alumni are and have been employed since graduating from college. In fact, the majority of the alumni, including Wilberforce alumni, were either working on full or part-time jobs in college or started working on full-time jobs immediately after completing their undergraduate degree requirements. The only instances in which these alumni were not employed were when females were on maternity leave or both females and males were enrolled in graduate or professional degree programs.

Cooperative Education and the Black Collegian on White Campuses

The preceding analysis of the UNCF study findings indicates that participating in cooperative education was beneficial to the post-graduate career growth and development of the alumni respondents. The insight gained from this analysis has implications for program planning and development, research, and policy and decision making for cooperative education post-secondary institutions of higher learning. Further, the analysis has particular significance for Black students enrolled at predominantly white colleges who participate in cooperative education. This issue will be examined through an anlysis and discussion of the following tables.

Table One shows the number of Black college students attending post-secondary institutions of higher education compared to the total number of students enrolled in all post-secondary institutions in the United States. These post-secondary institutions include two-year and four-year, public and private institutions.

This Table shows that one out of every ten undergraduate college students in the United States is Black. However, of this group, one out of every three students matriculate at predominantly Black colleges, and one out of every eight students matriculate at predominantly white institutions.

An analysis of this Table indicates that while Black college students comprise 10 percent of the total population of undergraduate college students, the larger percentage of Black undergraduate collegians, 77 percent, attend predominantly white colleges and universities. This means that predominantly white institutions are attracting more Black college students currently than has been the case in the past. It also suggests that research examining the career development effects of a college education should be targeted toward this group. This kind of research effort would be useful in planning and policy and decision making for academic programs which are structured to meet the career development needs of Black college students matriculating at predominantly white post-secondary institutions.

*Table One: Black College Students Attending Post-Secondary Higher Education Institutions (1980-81) Compared to all Students in Post-Secondary Higher Education.

Undergraduate	Number	Percentage
Undergraduate college students enrolled at all post-secondary higher education institutions.	9,387,897	100%
Black undergraduate college students enrolled at all post-secondary higher education institutions.	932,457	10%
Black undergraduate college students enrolled at predominantly Black post-secondary institutions of higher education.	303,432*	3%
Black undergraduate college students enrolled at predominantly white post-secondary institutions of higher education.	718,920	8%

*Source: National Center for Education Statistics Bulletin: *1980 Fall Enrollment in Colleges and Universities*, To be publicshed soon. (Contact Person: Susan T. Hill)

*This figure does not include Native Americans, Asians, Hispanics or whites. When these other racial-ethnic populations are included, the number of college students enrolled at predominantly Black institutions is 393,876.

Table Two shows the number of Black college students participating in cooperative education compared to all post-secondary college students participating in cooperative education in the United States. Two year and four year, public and private post-secondary institutions are included.

*Table Two: Black College Students Participating in Cooperative Education Programs Compared to All Post-Secondary College Students Participating in Cooperative Education.

Undergraduate	Number	Percentage
College students participating in cooperative education at post-secondary institutions of higher education.	200,000	100%
Black college students participating in cooperative education at predominantly Black post-secondary institutions of higher education.	6,200	3%
Black college students participating in cooperative education at predominantly white post-secondary institutions of higher education.	38,919	19%
Black college students participating in cooperative education at UNCF post-secondary institutions of higher education.	2,485	1%

*Source: Center for Cooperative Education Research, Northeastern University, Boston, MA and National Center for Education Statistics

This Table shows that about two percent, or two out of every one hundred of the college students currently matriculating at post--secondary institutions of higher education are enrolled in cooperative education programs. Of this total, about one out of five, or 19 percent, is enrolled at a predominantly white post-secondary institution and three out of one hundred, or three percent, are enrolled at predominantly Black institutions. When Black collegians matriculating at predominantly Black and predominantly white colleges and universities are combined, there is a total of 45,113 (23 percent) Black collegians who participate in cooperative education nationally. Further, of the 19 percent Black collegians who participate in cooperative education nationally, six percent attend United Negro College Fund institutions.

*Table Three: Post-Secondary Institutions Administering Coopertive Education Programs.

Undergraduate	Number	Percentage
All post-secondary institutions of higher education.	3,231	100%
All predominantly Black post-secondary institutions of higher education.	167	5%
Post-secondary institutions of higher education that administer cooperative education programs.	1,100	34%
Predominantly Black post-secondary institutions that administer cooperative education programs.	60*	2%

Source: Same as Table Two.

*This represents 36% of the 167 predominantly Black institutions of higher education, and 25% of the UNCF colleges.

An analysis of this Table indicates that, proportionately, there are slightly more than twice as many Black college students participating in cooperative education than there are Black college students enrolled in post-secondary institutions of higher education nationally. It also shows that the majority of those Black college students who participate in cooperative education matriculate at predominantly white post--secondary institutions of higher education. Finally, this Table illustrates that since over one out of five of all the college students who participate in cooperative education nationally are Black, these students' cooperative education experiences are valuable for future research, planning and program development in the field.

Table Three shows the total number of post-secondary institutions of higher education which administer one form or another of cooperative education. An analysis of this Table shows that while one out of every three, 34 percent, of all post-secondary institutions of higher education administer cooperative education programs, only two percent of the college students matriculating at these institutions participate in cooperative education. When predominantly Black post-secondary institutions of higher education are examined as a sub-system of all national post-secondary institutions, there is a similar relationship. Thirty-six percent of all predominantly Black institutions and 25 percent of all UNCF institutions administer one form or another of cooperative education programs.

The analysis of this Table illustrates that there is a minimal proportion of all college students who matriculate at post-secondary institutions of higher education on a national level who participate in cooperative education. This is true in spite of the fact that one-third

of all the post-secondary institutions of higher education nationally administer cooperative education programs. This analysis accounts for the fact that the mean number of students per post-secondary institution, predominantly Black or white, who participate in cooperative education is only 80 students. For this reason, when one considers the organizational and structural implications of the cooperative education plan and the operation and management of the post-secondary institution, research should be conducted on the students from comprehensive cooperative education institutions. Comprehensive cooperative education post-secondary institutions are those institutions where the conceptual power of cooperative education drives the administrative, management and curricular operations of that institution. Examples of this kind of post-secondary institution are Northeastern University, Wilberforce University, the University of Cincinnati, Le Moyne-Owen College, Antioch University and the Lewis College of Business.

Discussion

It is clear from the data and analysis presented in Tables One-Three that on a racially proportionate basis there are more black college students at both predominantly black and white post-secondary institutions of higher education who participate in cooperative education programs than any other racial or ethnic group. One way to explain this is that Black scholars and educators have always supported the philosophy that theory and practice-related teaching methods are essential to a college education. The debate between DuBois and Washington had to do with initial concepts that emerged as cooperative education. Although they differed politically, they both agreed that preparing Black college graduates to earn a living was one of the essential goals of the education process. They also asserted that Black educators should be guided by sound intelligence and theoretical principles in teaching.

Over the course of the last 10 to 15 years, Black educators at both predominantly Black and predominantly white colleges and universities discovered that Black college graduates were beginning to respond favorably to the changes in the labor market for career opportunities in technology, science, management and engineering. As more career options opened to Blacks, the career-decisions process of Black college students began to change.

The increase in career options available to Black college graduates and the subsequent response of Blacks to these options in the late sixties and through the seventies resulted primarily from federal and related anti-discrimination policies (Civil Rights Act of 1964, Executive Order 11246, Affirmative Action Programs) which created a demand in the labor market for Black professionals in many "traditionally closed" high level occupations. As a consequence, Black faculty and administrators in the college and university setting began to demand that career-development support systems be established in an effort to accommodate this shifting career interest.

We as Black faculty and administrators at Northeastern University, the largest cooperative education institution in the country, like our Black colleagues at other predominantly white universities, saw cooperative education as a way to take advantage of the new labor market "demand." Cooperative education also became a way of integrating the Black community, faculty, administration and students into the mainstream of the university's operation and management system. In addition, cooperative education made the Black student more marketable upon graduation. Finally, many of us support the contention that cooperative education provides our youth an opportunity at an early age to learn, to see and to believe in the potentials and realities of a particular profession.

To insure that the most ideal career development outcomes are achieved for Black students who participate in cooperative education on white campuses, two major factors should be considered. One has to do with the cooperative education process and the other with the planning of the program. The basic problems inherent in cooperative education for Black students have to do with the kind of support, enthusiasm, and monitoring they receive from the faculty, administrators and employers in the cooperative education process. The cooperative education process is as follows:

Phase I - On campus orientation and preparation for the cooperative education work experience

Phase II - The cooperative education--work period or placement in an employment setting

Phase III - Re-entry into the campus classroom setting.

In matters of planning for program development, an institution should consider the following four areas with respect to its Black student population.

I. Determine if a cooperative education program for our Black students is possible.

- What are the community (as defined in institutional terms) human resources needs for Black college students?

- Is our institution willing and able to make the anticipated changes and provide the necessary resources?

II. Develop program philosophy and objectives regarding cooperative education, the Black student population and the institution.

III. Develop program plan: structure and policies.

IV. Implement program: procedures and policies .

In conclusion, one must consider that given the philosophical support for cooperative education in the Black educational community and the significant numbers of Black college students participating in cooperative education, more research should be undertaken. This research should be designed to determine what actually transpires between the Black college student, the faculty, administration, and the employer during the cooperative education process and the impact of that interaction on the student. In addition, research projects should be designed to determine whether or not Black cooperative education students who have participated in cooperative education had similar cooperative education experiences or achieved post-graduate outcomes similar to those in the UNCF study. This research will be useful to educators in making decisions concerning planning, management and program development in cooperative education.

An African proverb suggests that by the time a fool learns the rules of the game the players have dispersed. Very often Blacks have been made fools because they have not known the rules of the game. Cooperative education is an institutional strategy that provides our students the opportunity to be exposed to the rules of the game, to learn the rules and to adapt to the new rules if the old ones change. Above all, the experience which cooperative education provides enables our students to play the game well and not to be easily fooled.

Footnotes

[1]W. E. Burghardt DuBois, The College Bred Negro, (Atlanta, Georgia: Atlanta University Press, 1910), pp. 43-63. Also see Herbert Aptheker, Ed., The Education of Black People: Ten Critiques 1906-1960 by W. E. B. DuBois, (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1972), pp. 31-41.

[2]John Dewey, Experience and Education (New York: MacMillan Company, 1938) and Alfred North Whitehead, The Aims of Education and Other Essays (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1929).

[3]Richard Wilson, The National Assessment of Cooperative Education Learning: A Preliminary Report.

[4]Asa Knowles, Handbook of Cooperative Education (San Francisco: Josey Bass, 1971), p. 4.

[5]James Wilson, "On The Nature of Cooperative Education", Journal of Cooperative Education (1970), pp. 1-2.

[6]Asa Knowles, Lena McKinney, "Minority Students", pp. 271-280.

NETWORKS, LINKAGES AND THE SOCIALIZATION OF BLACK EDUCATORS

William Banks, Ph.D.
University of California--Berkeley

As part of a larger study of black intellectuals, I conducted over thirty in-depth interviews with Afro-American scholars. The broader issues will be reported in a book to be published next year. However, my conversations with black academicians across the country revealed a subtle but persistent problem that is directly related to the idea of linkages and networks in higher education. Specifically, I am concerned about the professional socialization process as it affects beginning black faculty members in colleges and universities. Some blacks are employed in historically black colleges; others, at institutions where they could not have worked twenty years ago. My concern is primarily with the problems of black faculty in white institutions. While there are surely some similarities between the adjustment process at both types of institutions, I will try to make the case that the predicament of black academicians on white campuses is far more problematic, at least with respect to their socialization.

By socialization, I mean learning the rules, expectations and a variety of institutional features that are relevant to the role as "professor." The novice Ph.Ds who accept a faculty appointment at a university enter a milieu with which they are somewhat familiar. After all, as graduate students they got glimpses of professional academic life. Taking courses per se reveals very little about the nature of academic culture; however, as graduate students advance to the thesis or dissertation stages, they will gradually get exposed to a tier of considerations and operations that are marginal or irrelevant to the mere mastery of knowledge. Doctoral advisors subtly nudge their advisees into one or another direction; grants and fellowship opportunities are dispensed in a fashion which may seem incoherent to the outsider, or the naive, but the distribution of such goodies is anything but random. Advice about methodologies, the scope of problems, the relevant literature, all flow from the advisor's judgments about the field and about the student. Inquisitive graduate students with open and knowledgeable advisors can learn a great deal that will prepare them for the world of academic work. However such an ideal is rarely achieved. More typically, the graduate student moves into the job setting with only a cursory knowledge of the academic culture, usually gleaned from paying attention to departmental gossip for which professors are noted. One young professor reflects on the transition from graduate school to academic employment:

> When you're a student, you're only there temporarily. When you're a professor, you're there with the idea in mind that you may stay a length of time. Therefore, the contacts that you make with people are very important since they may be around twenty or thirty years, and may eventually pass on you at some time or another. And the thing is, the first couple of years, you're not smart enough to even know what committees exist and that you should find out who's on them. I wasn't smart enough to know that. I wasn't smart enough to know that the ones who don't come to faculty meetings or who don't make speeches are sometimes the movers and shakers of the University . . . who sit back real quiet and, say, make a phone call here and phone call there, and then they find out what happened at the faculty meeting. Or they're the ones who are on a Committee for Research Money, and all you have to do is spend 15 minutes talking to them and go through the suggestions and maybe you get the money. But if you don't know that, you don't get the money.

The stakes for the new faculty appointee are considerably higher than they were in graduate school, and the competition is far more keen in the ranks of academic hired hands.

Universities as Bureaucracies

American universities, large and small, good and bad, research or teaching, are all bureaucracies, characterized by sets of rules, objectives, and institutional needs. Behind the pompous rhetoric about "pursuit of knowledge," "free inquiry," and "value neutrality" is the reality of a Byzantine matrix of imperatives that actually determine what happens in the halls of ivy or of magnolia. It is pointless to belabor the myths associated with the image of American universities. Thorsten Veblen, C. Wright Mills, Martin L. King and even Thomas Sowell have all unmasked the distance between the platitudes and the reality of academic life. But the high degree of autonomy granted to universities makes them relatively immune to the polemics of even the most informed critics. Consequently, actors functioning within the bureaucracy must quickly learn the rules, objectives and needs of the institution if they are to be successful. And black actors tend to have even less time to absorb the culture of the "Company Store."

In the official organs of the school, one learns that teaching, research, and public service are the criteria for advancement within the institution. But little is said about the relative weight of these criteria. Nowhere can a novice intellectual read about how his or her colleagues

assess research, teaching and service. So while the young professional can get specific information about medical benefits and salary steps, it is more difficult to learn what his colleagues think of published articles that appear in, say Black Scholar or instruction that makes no pretense at "objectivity." To get an accurate sense of the informal rules and priorities that affect the status of academics, one must look beyond the formal, but vacuous dictums available in the Dean's office. And here is where the presence or absence of black or minority networks can make a difference.

Race-related Problems

In the hierarchial and subjective jungle of academic life, all young professors confront a wide and often contradictory set of expectations. To be sure, some of the problems are common to all newcomers to the bureaucracy, but my conversations with beginning minority scholars revealed particularistic and race-related dilemmas. In the current period of backlash and hostility to what is called affirmative action, many black hires encounter the covert hostility of senior colleagues who believe that they were appointed because they were black. The moral force that accompanied the earlier push for equity and justice has dissipated, leaving in its wake a residue of resentment--cleverly disguised and ingeniously rationalized. A well-known historian at an Ivy league school puts it graphically:

> I had bought hook, line and sinker, all of the stuff about objectivity and fairness. But I slowly came to see a certain cynicism and self-servingness at work. It wasn't that certain changes weren't justified; faculties resisted because they were lazy and didn't want to do anything to threaten their interests. I had grown up in a University town thinking that college presidents were the best people in the world, and it was good to see that they were as fucked up as everybody else.

The indifferent and occasional hostile behavior of senior white colleagues creates a dilemma for the young black professor. Sensing the existence of unwritten "do's and don'ts," he or she wants help in learning the rules of the game. But given the negative behaviors of white colleagues, the black academicians are reluctant to place stock in the advice of such peers. And paradoxically, the more he/she withdraws from contact with white colleagues, the more he/she comes to be seen as a self-imposed isolate.

The generally paternalistic attitude of most senior faculty is well known. Having successfully negotiated their way to tenure and status within the system, they are usually brimming with advice for novices. But too often race differences inhibit the passing on of information or

lead to advice based on assumptions about the lesser merit of minority scholars. The traditional old-boy network that facilitates the transition of young academicians is often less forthcoming to the most recent arrivals on the block--women and Third World peoples.

It is difficult to get white administrators and faculty to accept that race still influences the life and career chances of minority scholars. Beguiled by their own myths, they believe that the academy is above the type of discrimination that may occur in the non-academic world. Consequently, when black scholars suggest the salience of race in their professional lives, the contention is denied. To do otherwise would undermine the elaborate fantasy that academic institutions have been constructed around notions of fairness and reason. And the young black scholar who refuses to accept the party line that race has nothing to do with his or her prospects, runs the risk of alienating colleagues.

The Minority Networks

Fortunately (or at least theoretically), young black scholars can look to senior minority faculty networks for help in negotiating life in academe. As veterans in the bureaucracy, senior scholars can, more than any other group, provide, informally, information and analyses that take race into consideration. On matters ranging from housing in the community to the social attitudes of pivotal administrators, experienced minority faculty can provide a valuable perspective. Generally less committed to the idealized picture of academic realities, they can help with the type of problems the existence of which white colleagues deny.

Role Choices and Survival

Competing, but not contradictory, forces vie for the attention and energy of the young black scholar in white universities. Administrators may seek to use black faculty as conduits to the local communities or as permanent representatives to any and all committees dealing with affirmative action or human rights. Believing in the moral correctness of such activities, the young professor feels an obligation to participate and contribute. Counter to these considerations are the expectations of the departmental faculty for more traditional and one-dimensional activities. Senior faculty members hold the keys to mobility in the university and typically view with skepticism the extra-academic functions that some minorities believe they should perform. Without a network of persons who understand the costs and advantages of each set of choices, the young faculty member is likely to be constantly buffeted between the two roles. One English professor reports that the results can be disastrous:

> I think there are some black faculty members who have self-destructed because they got into the game, realized the rules, and rejected the rules. They are not doing anybody any good out there on the streets. The ranks of black scholars have been depleted far too much, not just because of attacks from the outside, but from almost self-submersion that I think comes from high expectations and a certain kind of idealism that I just don't have.

Ultimately, individuals must decide for themselves how they spend their time, but my experience and the comments of my interviewees suggest that many persons are not aware of the consequences of certain choices. The networks can explain, for instance, what university committees are important and which are mere time-consuming operas of futility. And the network can help the novice understand that the requirements of research and teaching competence must be addressed—no matter what!

Problematics

There are several things that moderate my generally rosy assessment of the role of minority networks in the socialization of black faculty. First, there is the practical problem of numbers. On most campuses the number of black faculty is so small that it is difficult to speak realistically of an intra-institutional network. Sometimes only two or three persons are available to provide help. The problem is especially acute when the young black is working in an academic area far removed from the competence of the few members. One strategy that has been attempted on some campuses is a relationship with other academic groups that consider themselves out of the mainstream of academic life. Groups in this category include women, Chicanos, Asian-Americans and Puerto Ricans. I acknowledge that there are often important differences between the positions and perspectives of these groups and the position and perspective of black faculty. Predictably, administrators have skillfully exploited the differences and thereby stymied the type of pragmatic coalitions that could serve a range of collective and individual interests. Recently, Ronald Dellums expressed his frustration that minorities "end up battling each other for the lion's share of the crumbs." The forces of tradition and the status-quo have certainly learned how to submerge some differences and pursue the matters about which they agree. Surely the partisans of diversity and change in the academy can unite and create a supportive network and system of linkages that will aid in the effective socialization of their members.

In many circles it is no longer "in" to speak of minority networks as particularly useful. Critics of race-related groups believe that the problems of injustice have been solved, at least for them, and they choose not to place themselves in groupings where race is the common trait. I have personally been surprised at the pervasiveness of this notion, but I usually underestimate the power of individualist ideology among members of socially oppressed groups. Persons who have succeeded academically often find it difficult to acknowledge the influence of broader social forces on their opportunities. It seems to be more psychologically rewarding for some persons to conclude that their success is exclusively a function of their own efforts.

The truth is that the assumption is, in part, true. It would be pointless to deny the primacy of individual efforts in any type of achievement. Only when these individuals are ensnared in the contradictions of this ideology do they come to recognize the pervasive hand of power and privilege in all institutional processes and decisions. But an awakening is at hand. The increasingly callous struggle for resources and mobility will flush out interest groups and power realities within higher education. In conflict situations, it is more difficult for privileged and powerful groups to hide behind the individualistic ethos. If minority intellectuals are doing their job, the contradictions will be heightened. At that point it will be important to have in place, knowledgeable and active networks of "outsiders" who can assist in socializing professionals to handle the individual and collective demands of academic life.

STATUS OF MINORITY PROFESSIONALS ON MAJORITY CAMPUSES: SAVIORS, VICTIMS OR SURVIVORS?

Sheila J. Nickson, President
American Association of
Affirmative Action
State University--Albany

My comments on this topic are based on my obervations after having spent 17 years in academe on majority campuses and are reinforced with the data recently collected through the National Urban League's Tri-State Minority Faculty Project. One fact became apparent during the Tri-State Project. If we want a true picture of the black professional presence within these institutions, we have to look beyond faculty positions to have any meaningful numbers to analyze and/or discuss. Clearly, that in itself becomes an indication of our presence or lack of same. I will address the issue of the absence of black faculty and the implications for black students, point out some of the problems black professionals have on white campuses, discuss the important role they play and comment on the importance of affirmative action concepts in developing and maintaining that presence on majority campuses. I will use the university system I am most familiar with as an example. SUNY is the largest majority university system in the world. Our 64 campuses include university centers, liberal arts colleges, specialized colleges, medical centers and community colleges. We maintain a staff of over 27 thousand employees.

A recent SUNY-wide review of only our state-operated campuses showed that of the approximately nine thousand faculty, 759 are minorities with 262 Blacks, 114 Hispanics and 376 Asians/Pacific Islanders and seven others.

Of the over three thousand non-teaching professionals (NTP's), there are 696 minorities; in this category, over 70%, the highest percentage, are black.

In administration, there are 104 minorities, with Blacks comprising over 80% of minority administrators. It becomes clear, then, that the largest percentage of black professionals are not on faculty lines--at least within SUNY, and I suspect this is true of most majority institutions.

The highest percentage of our black professionals again are low level administrators; they are clustered in EOP, HEOP and Black and African Studies Programs--with the latter being slowly, but systematically assimilated and/or eliminated. I would like to get back to that topic a little later, but to follow through on the low percentage of black faculty on majority campuses, it becomes an issue for us as educators

when we recognize the importance of faculty in shaping the minds of our youth. Yes, a black president or dean is important, but I would argue that black instructors are more important--they are crucial to the educational process, and they are in short supply on majority campuses.

Academia mirrors the larger society: nationally, while Blacks have made progress, it has been, overwhelmingly, the better-educated, so-called middle class blacks who have done so, with little or no improvement for the majority who fall in or below the low income level. We must not forget that 50 to 60 percent of blacks in this country, as opposed to 20 to 30 percent of whites, fall below the 10 thousand dollar income bracket. These data become crucial as we look at the federal cutbacks on social programs.

Some of us are convinced we are engaged in a war and that this nation will sacrifice that 20% to eliminate the 50%. We are all aware that unemployment for blacks is over twice that of whites and that things are going to get worse before they get better.

Obviously, all blacks, including those of us in majority institutions, have difficult days ahead. We must attempt to maintain those inroads we have made and try to press forward toward increasing our numbers at a time when many of our institutions are decreasing staff positions. No matter how difficult the task, we can not forget the important role we play for students, black and white, and the educational role our very presence offers to our non-black colleagues.

One reality for black faculty on majority campuses is identity. I spent nine years in an academic department before regressing into administration, so I have been on both sides of the fence.

For faculty on majority campuses, it can be very lonesome. You are often the only black in your department, possibly in your division. Maintaining your own black identity is difficult, but key to your survival. It is sometimes easier and more rewarding, in terms of promotion, to fall into the "academic identity" of your department. For example, recently there was an opening within a particular department on one of our campuses with an "MA required, Ph.D. preferred," stipulation. There was a black on the selection committee. One of the two finalists was black. Neither of the finalists was overly impressive; however, both had MA's and were minimally acceptable. The committee selected the white candidate unaminously. I later spoke to the black faculty member and asked why he had voted for the white candidate. I also asked him if he felt there was a need for more black faculty on campus. He looked rather surprised and said, "Of course there is! I guess I wasn't thinking. I wish you had talked to me before I voted. I just liked his (the white man's) personality better . . . ." I suspect my colleague has simply regressed into his "academic departmental identity." It is always easier to be "just one of the guys."

Standing alone is not always comfortable, popular or rewarding. Educating blacks without educating them as to who and what they are can be as dangerous or more dangerous than no education at all. This is a major factor for black educators to explore since most blacks are and will continue to be educated in predominantly white institutions. It is neither accidental nor coincidental that the black colleges have a traditionally higher success rate with black students. Not only are the students being educated in their subject matter, they are also being educated in who and what they are. They develop a pride in their blackness, a phenomenon which is totally absent on majority campuses. They also have the advantage of role models, some good and some bad, but role models. It is no accident that the majority of our black leaders are graduates of predominantly black institutions.

While some majority faculty members may have a firm grasp on their subject matter, I question their ability in many cases to adequately translate that information to many of our minority students. They obviously cannot teach or project black awareness and pride. How can one teach what one does not understand? In a nation where productivity and creativity are so highly prized, I never pass up an opportunity to share with black students the fact that they (we) are the greatest product this nation has ever produced. Like a diamond which emerges after years of pressure, black people in this country are as strong, as beautiful and as indestructable! I believe that! They need to know that they are the descendants of survivors. Only the strongest physically survived that first boat ride from Africa, and only the strongest mentally and physically have survived over 200 years of degradation. But we did survive! We do survive! We will survive! And somehow this survival message must be passed on to all of the youth on all of the campuses. I'm convinced we who are black and we who are located within those institutions which "happen to be other than black" have a role and a duty and a responsibility to assist in getting that message across.

For that reason, many of us become unofficial mentors of our black students. We do this knowing there is little or no reward since no credit is given toward merit, promotion or tenure for these activities. Instead, we are faced with a revolving door for blacks who are hired but not tenured. Many campuses even have identifiable black lines. They will always hire blacks on these lines, nonrenew, and hire other blacks, but seldom give them tenure or permanent appointment. We are in an inverse relationship here: as dollars decrease, this unfortunate process will increase.

Working within SUNY's Central Administration a few years ago, we were asked for our minority retrenchment list; in all honesty, we assured them we did not have one. If someone had been wise enough to ask for our minority nonrenewal list, however, that would have indeed been a different story.

I have often been told you cannot solve the problems of the world, but I have never been told to stop trying. If it's a black problem and you are black on a predominantly white university, regardless of where you are or what your official position is, you will be called upon to assist in the resolution of the problem.

You will have an opportunity to serve on Affirmative Action committees or special program committees, but unless you forcefully interject yourself into the mainstream, major institutional committees dealing with policy are not offered to you.

As I mentioned earlier, the demise of black studies is a serious issue. Afro-American and black studies courses are crucial on majority campuses. It is important for whites, as well as blacks, to understand black American culture and contributions. Sound black studies courses should be required for all students, regardless of race, who intend to work in a multi-ethnic multi-cultural society. How can a teacher, social worker, lawyer, or politician perform his duties adequately without courses in the culture of the people they will be dealing with? This is one of our major problems in education today.

Research shows that the expectation ratio generated by miseducated white teachers in predominantly black schools generates a preponderance of functionally illiterate black youth who are then punished, not because they were improperly taught, but because they failed to learn. Why not bilingual education courses for black youth deprived of an adequate comprehension of the English language in a dysfunctional educational system which is more interested in bussing than in the quality of education?

It is common knowledge that when the majority institutions initiated black studies programs, they were initiated for blacks with no serious commitment to the academic growth of the discipline. Today, black studies are on the endangered species list and currently can be found on fewer than 600 of the 2,785 University campuses in this country. While they may be surviving on many of our predominantly black college campuses, they are in dire straights on most SUNY campuses and many other majority institutions where they are so desperately needed.

I remember reading with some dismay in a Black Enterprise poll that the majority of blacks still believe the predominantly white universities provide a better quality of education. How can we believe this while voicing at the same time our lack of faith in white teachers who teach black youth? How can we believe this and at the same time voice our dissatisfaction with the quality of public school education? How can we believe this and acknowledge that many teachers in the system neglect their responsibility to encourage creativity--as opposed to conformity? To teach basic skills? To teach why as well as how?

Since this is occurring at the elementary and secondary school levels, what is it that makes some of us believe that a white university system is any different--or any better.

No matter how well meaning the intent of a majority institution may be and on many campuses there is an honest effort to serve all students, it is my belief that black students on predominantly white campuses will survive in a direct ratio to the input and impact of black faculty and staff on those campuses, and it is important to establish statistical studies to substantiate this (or disprove it, if you can). I published an article several years ago on "Affirmative Action as a Tool for the Retention of Black Students" in which I adapted statistical studies which had been done on the retention of female students and correlated those findings to show a similar pattern of impact on the retention of black students. I had to use the available statistics which by and large dealt with accessing the problems related to the retention of female students. Where is our research? The reality is, it does not exist in any substantive form.

Affirmative action for faculty as well as students must be maintained. Affirmative action is not perfect, but it is a tool, a tool to be used to achieve that which is essential. If blacks are ever to become visible in more than token numbers on majority campuses, realistic goals and timetables must be established and implemented as mandated. This has never really been possible because there is no accurate national availability data or skills bank for black professionals. Until that becomes consistently available, we will always hear--"I'd hire one, if I could find one!" Efforts such as those by Ken Tollett at Howard University and the studies currently being conducted by the National Urban League must be doubled and quadrupled if we are to become the initiators and custodians of our own future; statistical studies and research projects by blacks about blacks are essential.

In summary, it is my observation that it is and will continue to be just as difficult for blacks to survive and prosper on majority campuses as it is in the larger society. However, we can not dismiss the responsibility for our survival by placing all of the blame on that larger white society. I would suggest to you that we who are black and we who are educators hold the future in our hands. As parents and as a people, we have to assume the ultimate responsibility for the education of our children. Let us all commit ourselves to ensuring that this important charge is not taken lightly. Let us, if we do, commit ourselves to the production of a generation of educated black youth, educated not only in their chosen field of endeavor but also by whatever means necessary, educated in the strength and beauty of their blackness. If we fulfill that charge, we can be assured not only of our children's future but the future of black America.

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE ROLE OF BLACK ADMINISTRATORS AT PREDOMINANTLY WHITE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Andrew J. Chisholm
Special Assistant to the President
University of South Carolina

The history of Blacks in America is blighted by personal tragedies and disappointments. Although America can be proud of the contributions by Black citizens, Black citizens do not have a lot to be proud of in terms of how America has treated their contributions. America is a country of promise which explicitly state that all Americans have the same rights and privileges to pursue their aspirations. Equality of opportunity is an idea that is fundamental to American history, predating the constitution itself. Equality is more than an idea; it is an essential component of the very foundation upon which America is built. It is an essential right that is reflected more in its promise than in its attainment. In particular, Black America has been denied equal access at all levels, for equality serves as a major political issue that prohibits full partnership between those who profess equality and Blacks who are denied equality.

Perhaps no other American system has received more attention and has been under attack on the question of inequality than the educational systems of this country. Beginning with the 1954 Supreme Court decision which correctly dispelled the policy of "separate but equal," a practice was designed to incapacitate educational achievement of Black Americans. And with all "deliberate speed" the Supreme Court ordered America to integrate its public schools.

Like the Supreme Court, Black Americans concluded that integration of schools would provide equal access and opportunities for achieving the American dream. Now, almost thirty years later, what was thought to be a distinct advantage has become what many are referring to as a distinct burden. Progress loomed large and promising at the beginning of the decade of the seventies. However, progress toward equality was an inescapable obligation, considering the extent of racial inequality in higher education in the sixties (ISEP Report, 1981). Research suggests that more Black students are enrolled in public elementary and secondary schools (1970, 1972, 1974, 1976) than ever before. Blackwell (1978) reported that between 1970 and 1975, there was an 80% increase in Blacks attending college. On the surface, it would appear that Black Americans are now beginning to realize their potentials through educational opportunities, but Blackwell (1978) argues that the "disabilities of poverty, lack of income, denial of access to the highly prized, shared value of the American society, collective discrimination, and racism operate against high educational attainment

by minority groups in numbers commensurate with their representation in the population as a whole." Even today, as we discuss educational issues facing quality education for Blacks, there are forces in these very halls that are attempting to turn back the clock on educational advancements Blacks have made. As was depicted in the novel, A Tales of Two Cities, there are good times and there are bad times, and for Black Americans, we are entering a period of bad times.

A brief review of the literature demonstrates that since the late 1940's, there has been a constant rise in Black educational attainments. The 1974 U.S. Census reported that there were more than 1,684,000 Blacks with one or more years of college compared with the 1950 estimate of around 414,000. The report further pointed out that the period of 1960 to 1970 reflected the greatest gain, a period highlighted by an increase in federal civil rights and higher education legislation stimulated by an increase in black civil rights protest. It was during this period, 1960 - 1970, that a large number of Black students began attending predominantly white colleges and universities with the belief that white colleges and universities had much more to offer them than the traditional Black schools of higher education. Perhaps the greatest fallacy testing this belief was the fact that white institutions were not prepared to address the social nor psychological concerns of their new Black constituency. Brembreck (1966) described the predominantly white university as mirroring American society, and, thus, it has reflected the racism of the larger American society. Sexton (1967) suggested that white universities "exist in somewhat of a vacuum." Instead of constructively influencing and providing leadership for the community, the university has itself been influenced by the political and social forces of the community. This observation has been referred to by Carmichael and Hamilton (1967) as a form of institutional racism which is subtle and based on ". . . decisions and policies on consideration of race for the purpose of subordinating a racial group and maintaining control over that group."

Whereas the initial small number of Black students during the early sixties chose to isolate themselves for personal survival, as the number grew Black students began acting out their disappointment and frustrations in the form of student protests. Black students' protest demands often reflected the inequities and the oppression of the white world around them. Wisdon and Shaw (1969) pointed out that the demands generally centered around these issues:

- Elimination of institutional racism
- Recruitment of Black students in proportion to their college age population
- Recruitment of Black faculty and administrators

- Autonomous Black studies.
- Social separation in housing and/or cultural centers.

Woods (1979) suggested that Black students protested because they could not acquire the skills on the white campuses that they needed for survival in the American society. Long (1970) examined the dynamics of Black protest and found that the support of local Black communities helped Black student protests to be more organized than was the case with white protestors during the same period.

According to Rainwater (1965), Black communities were incensed with white universities performing blue ribbon studies that more often than not painted an unfair picture of Blacks. Therefore, Black students and Black communities collaborated out of a need to refute and repudiate the traditional white university for exploiting the Black community and showing indifference toward it.

Abramowitz and Abramowitz (1975) listed three classifications of barriers to equal educational opportunity for Blacks. These barriers are categorical (racially motivated), educational (institutional policies and practices), and psychosocial (negative student attitudes). According to the two authors, the three barriers interact, reinforce and often compete with each other. They concluded by pointing out that each barrier, acting alone or together, negatively influenced the access, distribution and persistence of Black students attending predominantly white colleges and universities.

Although Black student enrollment at predominantly white colleges and universities continue to increase, Black faculty and administrators lag far behind in proportion to the number of Black students. Moore and Wagstaff (1974) suggest that little is known about Black faculty and administrators in white colleges. They speculate that "perhaps this is because their behavior has not been as militant nor their situation as well publicized as that of other groups seeking professional entry into colleges and universities." The most disturbing observation rendered by the two researchers is the belief that "scholars have not deemed (this issue) worthy of investigation."

Black students have consistently identified the lack of Black faculty and administrators as a central concern and as an immense problem because of a lack of proper or adequate role models. Moore and Wagstaff (1974) raised more than 17 questions on this issue. In attempting to provide answers, they polled more than six thousand Black educators with more than three thousand responses, and their findings point out that "a Black educator in a predominantly white college or university perceives him/herself as an alien." Qualifying this perception, respondees concluded they are aliens first because of being Black, and being Black simply means they are looked upon differently.

What are the conditions of Black administrators' employment and what are their job responsibilities? In attempting to shed light on these questions, it must be kept in mind that in the forefront there are extreme differences between Black administrators at predominantly Black colleges and universities and those at predominantly white colleges and universities. In a study conducted by Hoskins (1978), he found that Black administrators at white institutions held lower ranks than their counterparts at Black institutions. He also pointed out that Black administrative positions were less stable at white institutions. Significantly, more Black administrators are tenured or tenure-tracked at Black institutions than at white ones. It was also found that more time is devoted to teaching by Black administrators at Black institutions. However, Black administrators at white institutions devote more time to community services than do Black administrators at Black institutions. Finally, Hoskins found that Black administrators at Black institutions have significantly more line positions while their counterparts at white institutions hold more staff positions.

Roosevelt Johnson (1969) pointed out that Black administrators are usually hired into important administrative positions, but they lack power and authority to make administrative decisions in areas other than Black studies and minority affairs, primarily because no thought was given to the possibility of Black administrators being on white campuses prior to the mid 1960's. Therefore, concludes Johnson, until recently, Blacks have not had the chance to serve in meaningful administrative positions outside the predominantly Black institutions. Moore and Wagstaff (1974) support Johnson's contention by observing that "Black administrators at white institutions are "the administrative caricature in higher education. Even the worker in the kitchen, the attendant on the parking lot, and the custodian sweeping the floor know that most Black administrators are without power and authority."

A study conducted by Eddie W. Morris (1972) suggests that the Black student protests of the 60's, calling for more relevant role models at white colleges and universities, caused a Black "brain drain" from Black colleges to white colleges. Morris concluded that Black professors were being sought because of pressure from government and from campus militants. The process was made easy according to Morris:

> Most white colleges want to employ Black scholars in newly established minority programs; boards of white institutions want their institutions to demonstrate that they believe in equal opportunity and integration; Black scholars tend to believe that they are furthering the process of integration and equal opportunity; and Black scholars want better facilities within which to teach and do research, and they want the possibility of leave-time.

The United States Government supported the Morris findings when research conducted by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (1966) found that there were striking differences between Black faculty employed by institutions attended by white students and those employed at predominantly Black colleges.

According to Moore and Wagstaff (1974), Blacks who are hired at predominantly white colleges and universities are considered safe risks. In other words, they will not "rock the boat." They view Black administrators as hired interpreters. Their roles help the institution to better understand the students and provide better services to them. However, Moore and Wagstaff point out that if information is used effectively to oppress and control Black students, the Black administrator is toying with disaster. In describing the average Black administrator, Moore and Wagstaff concluded that most were hired without credentials: "They have come from the Urban League, the ministry, model cities and other social welfare programs; a few have come from municipal jobs." For the most part, concludes Moore and Wagstaff, they are high visibility Blacks who have had some experience in relating to the white power structure. Some exert some leadership in the Black community. Moore and Wagstaff suggest that these administrators are hired because they are "safe."

Moreover, Moore and Wagstaff suggest that there is another type of Black administrator who was formerly a radical. They point out that the radical is often hired to keep him quiet, and that it is only later that he/she discovers that when he/she took the job, he/she lost most of his/her power. First, he/she does not control the budget; the hiring of personnel has guidelines that he/she cannot change; he/she is without the credential to become permanent. He/she finds he/she must protect his/her salary in order to keep personal possessions. In other words, this type administrator becomes part of the system and becomes systematized.

Yet, there appears to be another problem that is surfacing that has not received much attention or documentation, and that is the problem of Blacks at predominantly white institutions relating to each other and supporting the lone Black administrator in carrying out his/her roles and vice versa. A mailout survey forwarded to more than one hundred Black administrators revealed that a prime concern by the majority respondents (60%) was getting along well with other Black administrators and faculty persons on their campus. In further delineating this issue, data suggested that the ranking Black administrator felt caught between trying to meet the concerns and expectations of Black students, faculty and staff while facing frustration of not obtaining the support necessary for change by chief white administrators at his/her college or university (Minority Affairs, USC, 1980).

Black administrators also felt they are faced with "inhouse jealousy" and that there is a constant tug-of-war going on among Blacks for decision-making authority as it impacts both Black students and faculty/staff. Responses also suggest that on a few campuses, some Black administrators or faculty persons have attempted to belittle the ability and character of their ranking Black administrator often in an effort to secure the position for themselves. In this situation it is not the Black administrator who is often referred to as "Tom" or "safe" who appears to be the problem for Black advancement, but rather infighting among Blacks.

Wiley (1971), in an assessment of Black administrators at white colleges, indicated that Blacks "are not given regular positions but rather special positions that signify impermanence. He further stated that these positions are "newly-created positions that are designed to have little power or authority." Moore and Wagstaff (1974) pointed out that "the influence of (Black administrators') decisions defined his/her job, authority, power, and the position." Moreover, the type of determination that the Black administrator could make also put the college personnel on notice as to what he could do. In their study, Moore and Wagstaff found that 94% of administrative positions Blacks held can be classified as an "assistant to" positions.

The data suggest that Black administrators are employed with the belief that they will make a difference. Not only do they become disappointed but they soon discover their disappointments are shared by other Black staff and students who direct their disappointment towards the Black administrator rather than the chief administrator. In effect, a system of divide and conquer is created, thus minimizing potential conflicts between Blacks and white administrators but maximizing conflicts between Blacks. In this situation there is a demonstration of benign neglect. More discouraging is the fact that the problem becomes black-on-black rather than black-on-white where, in most cases, the root of the problems really exist.

Then what should the role of the Black administrator be at predominantly white colleges? Perhaps the question is easier asked than answered since very little, from a Black perspective, is known about how white administrators make decisions affecting Blacks. In most cases Black administrators are not charged with making decision and passing them up or making institutional committees accountable for their responsibility. In discussing the role of Black administrators at white colleges, Wiley (1971) concluded that Black administrators are usually hired to absorb criticism aimed at the college or university when something goes wrong in the area of race relation, affirmative action, or integration. Therefore, Black educators are becoming reluctant to fill token administrative positions. However, Wiley cautions that if "changes do not occur, higher educational administration

will become more segregated." Watson (1972) contended that Black administrators must possess skills to cope with special problems in addition to the normal administrative duties. Watson further advised the following:

> There must be a conceptualization and implementation of valid theoretical and practical approaches for the training, education and development of Black administrators. There must be a short and long-range recruitment effort to increase the supply of Black administrators . . . . Also, people with backgrounds in business and industry can successfully work in college administration and should be given consideration.

In a final report of the Commission on the Higher Education of Minorities (1982) which discusses minority faculty and administrators at predominantly white colleges, the Commission surveyed 311 minority educators asking repondents to indicate what higher education could do to better serve minority students. The most frequent responses was "hire, promote, and tenure minority faculty members, administrators and counselors." The Commission concluded that this response was indicative of a need and recognition that minority role models were high on the priority list of minorities. The Commission further stated that minority ranks are thin junior in status and that the foothold they have gained in academia is threatened by institutional retrenchment, the "tenuring-in" of academia, union protectionism of seniority and rising political and economic conservatism. Based on these observations, the Commission recommended that the following actions be taken by white colleges and universities:

1. That colleges and universities seek to recruit and hire more minority faculty members, administrators, and student services personnel and make every effort to promote and tenure minority educators. Actions do indeed speak louder than words; no amount of rhetorical commitment ot the principles of equal opportunity, affirmative action, and pluralism can compensate for or justify the current degree of minority under-representation among faculty, administrators, staff members, and students in higher education.

2. That top administrators demonstrate their clear and unequivocal support of efforts to recruit, hire, promote, and tenure minorities. In many respects, the administration establishes the campus atmosphere or "tone." Thus, a visible personal commitment to change on the part of one or two senior officials can be crucial in effecting increased minority representation on a campus.

3. That colleges and universities make every effort to ensure that minority faculty members, administrators, and student personnel workers are represented in all types of positions at all levels within the institution.

4. That colleges and universities revise their hiring and promotion criteria so as to recognize and reward a wider variety of accomplishments and types of service.

5. That state legislatures and state boards support administrative internship programs to develop and promote minority administrators in public colleges and universities.

However, the literature is more descriptive and suppositional with respect to the roles and duties Black administrators should be performing on white campuses, and perhaps it is this lack of definitiveness that is complicating the effectiveness of Blacks who are employed to meet the rigorous expectations of Black consituents on white campuses. The question is (because of evidence of racism existing on white campuses which reflects the American society), Are Blacks hired to be effective administrators on behalf of Black students and faculty? Secondly, is it practical to expect white administrators to be genuine in their commitment to advance Blacks and other minorities within their institution? Finally, can Black administrators, faculty and students, adequately achieve within white colleges and universities? Based on the review of the literature and what the literature suggests are current practices among white colleges and universities, the answer to these questions appears to be an emphatic "no!" However, one would be extremely naive to accept this assessment without attempting to modify or change current practices that are hindering Blacks and other minorities from employment opportunities and equality at predominantly white colleges and universities. Therefore, further actions are needed to abolish systems of benign neglect, indifference, and isolation. Minorities once depended on the justice system of America to make fair situations that were unfair; however, with the U.S. Supreme Court's DePunis (1974) and Bakke (1978) cases, there is reflected a growing sentiment that white colleges and universities have "gone far enough" or even "too far" in their efforts to accommodate the cultural and special needs of minorities. Similar attitudes exist in our federal legislature, evidenced by the senate's recent support to end busing as an effort to end racial segregation in public schools. Therefore, it appears if Black students attending predominantly white colleges and universities are going to secure an education and retain cultural heritages through Black role modeling, they may have to secure it at predominantly Black colleges and universities. If this becomes necessary, democracy as we know it is doomed and the Kerner Commissions' (1967) conclusions have become a reality: "a nation divided, one Black, one white." And yet, this may be the case presently existing on white campuses. Mommsen (1972) found that 94% of Black faculty members at white colleges and universities believed racial discrimination was

existent when they were employed. Moore and Wagstaff (1974) support Mommsen's finding when in their study they found only 5.5% of their samples felt discrimination did not play a factor in their employment.

Hoskins (1978), observed that Black administrators on white campuses are viewed as "tokens." He further observed:

> The recent past has shown a tendency for majority higher education institutions to place newly arrived Black scholars in positions that tend to deal with Black and other minority students concerns only—admissions offices, financial aids, student centers, minority affairs, special assistant to the chancellors or president, and black studies programs. Thus to many militants and other (Black faculty and staff), Black administrators' power and decission making authority were viewed as relegated to opinions given in private conferences with his/her superiors to advise on how to handle some minority student flare-up or to act as intermediary to settle minority student grievances.

It would appear that the most segregated system existing in higher education are administrative positions held by Blacks at predominantly white institutions.

Similar to Black administrators at predominantly Black institutions, white administrators at predominantly white institutions have traditionally risen from the ranks of the faculty to dean and vice-president and have often culminated their ascent with the presidency of an institution (Hoskins, 1978). Due to a rather rapid rise in Black student populations during the last five years, the majority of Black administrators at white institutions are new to those systems and to an extent are limited in their professional ascensions as compared to whites who, in similar positions, have followed an orderly progressive professional path.

It would seem that positions designed for Black administrators to handle Black problems have failed twofold. First, the Black administrator has been placed in a position of suspect or outright rejection by those he/she is employed to assist, i.e., Black students, faculty and staff. In part, this strained relationship is created by an unwillingness of white administrators to accept the Black administrator as a full partner in the operation of their institution. Finally, and perhaps, more devastating is the fact that two systems are created: one Black, which for the most part is ineffective due to limited decision making powers and lack of adequate resources to meet demands, and one white, which is central to the structure and organization of the college or university.

Based on consideration of numerous interviews, available research, review of the literature and opinions of Black administrators at white institutions, the following recommendations are made with respect to issues surrounding the role of Black administrators at white colleges and universities:

1. Creation of an office in the Federal Department of Education whose function will be to create a body of knowledge on the subject of Blacks at predominantly white colleges. Additionally, this office will serve as a clearinghouse in assisting white colleges and universities in designing effective programs of minority affairs, Black studies and counseling services. This recommendation takes into account that there are more Black students attending predominantly white colleges and universities than those attending Black colleges and that services available to Black students at predominantly Black colleges and universities do not exist for Black students attending the predominantly white institutions.

2. That predominantly white colleges and universities be encouraged to create mission statements for positions and/or offices created to assist Black and other minority students.

3. That the Federal Department of Education commission a team consisting of Black administrators at white colleges and universities, representatives of NAFEO, ACE and Southern Regional Board to study and recommend what the roles of Black administrators at predominantly white institutions should be. Presently, such information does not exist, thereby contributing to the hodge-podge of diversity and confusion surrounding these positions.

4. That NAFEO appoint an advisory committee to its executive structure that will assist in implementing on-going research and continuous monitoring of a situation that is not going to go away.

5. That a series of regional workshops be sponsored by NAFEO designed to inform ranking white administrators on the status of problems and options that are available to them.

6. That a national institute for the preparation of Black administrators in higher education be established whose focus will be to train and prepare potential Black administrators for administrative positions in higher education.

7. That the Congress provide funds to implement these and other recommendations that would help eliminate a growing and pressing problem.

It has become very clear that Black students attending predominantly white colleges and universities desire to see more Black administrators and instructors at their institutions. While predominantly white colleges and universities have made some efforts to recruit and employ Black administrators and faculty, these efforts have been token at best. While there are more and more Black students attending white colleges and universities, Black administrators and faculty are disproportionately underrepresented at these same institutions. The literature further points out that the majority of Black administrators employed at predominantly white institutions were not employed in good "faith." In other words, they were hired to fill important administrative positions, but were not empowered to make important decisions concerning their roles. Resultingly, Black administrators are faced with two critical problems. First, they have little impact on decisions that are made affecting minority students, faculty and staff, thereby causing their minority constituents to view them as either Uncle Toms or the administration's "boy/girl."

The literature is explicit in describing the problems facing Black administrators at predominantly white institutions, but very little has been suggested on how to create systems that would accommodate effective programs and offices headed by Black administrators. Therefore, it is imperative that activities be designed to address this disturbing situation, ones that will do several things: define the roles and duties of Black administrators at white institutions; provide constant research; provide evaluation; recruit and train more Black administrators; create an effective network. Until such decisions and activities are in place, questions relating to the role of Black administrators at predominantly white colleges and universities will be asked over and over with no sound or rational explanation provided.

Bibliography

Abramowitz, Elizabeth A., and Michael, E. "Racism, Research and Reform," presented at American College Personnel Association Annual Meeting, 1973.

Blackwell, James E. Social Factors Affecting Educational Opportunity for Minority Group Students, Beyond Desegregation. The College Board, 1978.

Brembeck, C. Social Foundations of Education: A Cross Cultural Approach. New York, Wiley, 1966.

Carmichael, S., and Hamilton, C. Black Power. New York, Random House, 1967.

Harper, F. "Black Student Revolt on White Campus," Journal of College Student Personnel, 1969.

Hoskins, Robert L. Black Administrators in Higher Education. Praegen Publishers, New York, 1978.

Johnson, Roosevelt, "Black Administrators and Higher Education," Black Scholar, 1969.

Long, D. "Black Protest." In J. Foster and D. Long (Eds.) Protest: Student Activism in America. New York, 1970.

Mommsen, Kent G. "Black Ph.D. in the Academic Market Place: Supply and Demand and Price," Journal of Higher Education, 45, 1974.

Moore, William and Wagstaff, Lonnie H. Black Educators in White Colleges. Jossey Bass Publishers, San Francisco, 1974.

Morris, Eddie W. "The Contemporary Negro College and the Brain Drain," Journal of Negro Education, 41, 1972.

Rainwater, L. "Crucible of Identity," T. Parsons and K. Clark (Eds.), The Negro American. Boston, Beacon Press, 1965.

Sexton, P. The American School: A Sociological Analysis. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1967.

University of South Carolina Office of Minority Affairs, Mail Survey, 1980.

Watson, Bernard C. The Black Administrator in Higher Education: Current Dilemmas, Problems and Opportunities. Philadelphia: Temple U. Press, 1972.

Wiley, Bennie L. "A Different Breed of Administrators," Phi Delta Kappa, 52, 1971.

Wisdon, P., and Shaw, K. "Black Challenge to Higher Education," Educational Record, 1969.

Woods, G. "The Black Student Movement," D. Nichols (Ed.), Perspectives on Campus Tensions. Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 1970.

THE BLACK ACADEMIC ADMINISTRATION IN THE WHITE UNIVERSITY: PROBLEMS AND POSSIBILITIES OF THE "ASSISTANT TO . . ."

Dr. Irving P. McPhail, Assistant Provost
Human and Community Resources
University of Maryland-College Park

The presence of Black academic administrators in white universities is a relatively recent phenomenon. Largely as a result of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's, predominently white colleges and universities gradually increased the enrollment of Black students. With the advent of the Black Power Movement after 1966, universities were forced to step up the recruitment of both Black students and faculty. Unable to communicate with Black students and the larger Black community, universities hired minority staff. The national guilt following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King in 1968 and the resultant expressions of Black rage compelled universities to further increase Black student enrollment and to hire Black administrators. These newly appointed Black administrators were expected to improve communications with Black students, keep militant students in line, and serve as symbols of the institution's commitment to affirmative action and desegregation.

Reacting to the current plight of many Black academic administrators hired by white universities during this period, Smith observed that:

> A disproportionate number of Black administrators hired in the latter part of the 1960's and early 1970's are experiencing numerous problems. . . . The very nature of their jobs increases the possibility of failure and guarantees that their strengths will not be maximized. These problems. . .are manifested by the lack of control these administrators have over significant operational aspects of their particular institution. In most instances, Black administrators have been given responsibility, but they have not been given power and authority in the formal administrative structure of the institution commensurate with that responsibility.[1]

The dynamics of this situation have been described by Black academic administrators in a variety of roles in white institutions.[2] However, the peculiar status of the Black "Assistant to. . ." in white universities perhaps best mirrors these dynamics.

The Unidimensional Administrator

Wiley observed over ten years ago that regardless of the Black administrator's job title, his major responsibilities were in the area of minority affairs, both on and off campus.[3] This continues to be the case today on many campuses although some white universities have appointed Black academic administrators to key line positions in the institution. It should also be noted that not all Blacks in "Assistant to. . ." positions today are limited to minority affairs. However, the problems associated with the unidimensional role of the Black "Assistant to. . ." are many.

First, such a role allows little room for building a respected, influential base from which to operate. Faculty and other academic administrators can too easily conclude that the Black administrator is capable only of handling minority affairs. The absence of involvement in the critical issues facing the academy today--retrenchment of faculty, internal reallocation of resources, student enrollment planning, academic planning, politics of state coordinating boards--leaves the Black "Assistant to. . ." in a state of "solitary self-confinement."[4]

Perhaps the greatest problem facing the unidimensional Black "Assistant to. . ." in the white university setting is the expectation of his/her behavior by Black students. To many Black students, the Black "Assistant to. . ." is expected to perform the roles of advisor, friend, ombudsman, tutor and miracle worker, while at the same time ending institutionalized racism at the institution, by any means necessary. Despite the administrator's commitment to improving the quality of life on campus for minority students, his/her position in university administration dictates that he/she work within the system to effect change. This is perhaps a bitter pill to swallow for administrators who were themselves activists in white universities during the Black Power Movement of the 1960's. It is a reality that is rarely appreciated by the Black community on and off campus which, despite some small victories, see the Black administrator's efforts as too little too late.

Staff versus Line Position in Formal Organizational Structure

The Black "Assistant to. . ." invariably finds him/herself in a staff role reporting to a line officer, i.e., Dean, Provost, Vice President, or President. Line officers are managers vested with the power and authority to make decisions in the areas of budget, faculty affairs, student affairs, and academic programs. They are a part of the formal administrative hierarchy of the university. Staff officers are subject to the decisions of line officers, and both are keenly aware of the parameters of each role.

Staff officers occupy positions outside of the administrative chain of command. Their power and authority is based entirely on the knowledge they possess about given issues and their ability to influence the decision-making of line officers. Smith interprets the differences in influence between line and staff officers in institutional settings as follows:

> Line officers gain their authority from their position in the organization whereas staff officers gain their authority from their knowledge about given issues. The effectiveness of Black administrators in staff positions, then, is contingent upon the degree to which they are capable of using their knowledge to influence line officers in the institution to use their ideas and recommendations in the resolution of given problems. Success, then, is related to influence gained because one is knowledgeable about issues, rather than to the power inherent in a particular position in the institution. . . . Because Black administrators were hired to pacify the Black community and/or to demonstrate that the hiring institution is an 'equal opportunity employer,' neither of which is legitimate, the leadership which they could provide based on their knowledge of given issues is neither accepted nor respected by those who must be influenced.[5]

Absence of Faculty Rank and Tenure

Few have commented on the scholarly self confinement experienced by Black administrators in white universities. Black administrators who do not hold concurrent faculty rank and tenure in an academic department are often viewed by white faculty as incompetent since many white professors believe that the job positions filled by Blacks do not require any particular skill except a vaguely defined public relations aptitude.

The absence of faculty rank and tenure and the resultant lack of scholarly credibility is especially problematic in the prestigious research universities. In such institutions, academic administrators are selected both for their administrative ability and experience and their standing in the discipline as evidenced by research, publication, teaching, and national reputation. The decision-making processes in such critical areas as promotion and tenure are often collegial in nature. Collegiality is based on a mutual respect for scholarly preparation and objectivity on the part of faculty and administration.

Finally, the absence of faculty rank and tenure is a liability in terms of job security. The Black "Assistant to. . ." serves at the pleasure of the line officer to whom he/she reports. Should problems arise in the relationship between the staff and line officer, should the line officer resign or should the "Assistant to. . ." wish to move out of administration into a faculty role, the absence of scholarly credibility is a major liability.

Confronting the Challenge

Despite the problems confronting the Black administrator in the white university in the role of "Assistant to. . .," the role is not without possibilities for upward mobility in the ranks of academic administration. The ultimate challenges to the Black "Assistant to. . ." are twofold:

1. Coming to terms with what it means to be a Black in a position of at least some influence; and

2. Charting a course that will ultimately lead to a line position in academic administration.

Evans argues that "the role of the Black administrator is clear: his first reason for being is the contribution that he can make toward advancing the interest of the entire academic community."[6]

Given the generally high attrition rates for Black students on white campuses,[7] Black administrators should contribute to lobbying efforts, research, program development activities, and monitoring activities on behalf of minority student retention. The level and scope of this involvement will obviously be a function of the Black administrator's specific areas of responsibility. In their interactions with white faculty and administrators, Black administrators should promote the legitimate interests of Black students, interests designed to improve the quality of life on campus for all students.

In personal interactions with Black students, Black administrators should be straightforward in defining both the limitations and the possibilities of their roles. This recommendation is not intended as a cop-out, but rather an attempt to give the student a realistic, nonrhetorical view of campus politics and administration. It also provides an opportunity for the administrator and student to develop strategies for subverting the system from within, lessons that will serve the Black student well when he/she enters the professions. It is equally important that the Black administrator help the Black student to distinguish the administrator's personal, political and philosophical views from the assumptions on which certain administrative decisions have to be made.

For example, the Black student should understand the Black administrator's abhorrence of the illegal, racist, apartheid regime in South Africa, while at the same time appreciating the dangers inherent in the administrator's advocating a policy of nonhiring of faculty born in the Union of South Africa. Such a policy, if enacted, would quickly be used to deny positions to Black faculty for contrived political reasons. At the same time, the Black administrator should be even more aggressive in influencing line officers to recruit and retain Black faculty and students in all academic departments on campus.

In preparing for ascendency to a line position in academic administration, the Black "Assistant to. . ." should demand involvement in all major office administrative activities, especially academic and budgetary planning. Such broad-based administrative reponsibilities will defeat the tendency to be defined by others as a unidimensional administrator and will provide the background of experience needed to move up in academic administration.

The Black "Assistant to. . ." should also seek membership on several critical campus-wide committees with high visibility and non-minority affairs labels. Substantive contributions to campus-wide committees is useful in extending one's sphere of influence and in deriving a kind of vicarious level of power and influence.

It is absolutely essential that the Black "Assistant to. . ." achieve a national leadership position in his/her academic discipline. He/she should continue to pace him/herself as he/she did as a faculty member, producing at least two journal articles, chapters, books, etc., each year. Continued involvement with doctoral students is most helpful in this regard. Presentation of professional papers at national meetings in the discipline should be encouraged. If non-tenured at the time of initial appointment to an administrative position, the Black "Assistant to. . ." should vigorously pursue tenure. In the interim, such tenure-track appointments as Adjunct Professor, Affiliate Professor, etc., should be utilized to the fullest to gain visibility and credibility with faculty and students. Teaching, particularly at the graduate level, is also critical.

In all of the above activities, the Black "Assistant to. . ." can succeed in elevating his/her importance and centrality to the mission of the university. The outcome is likely to be upward mobility in academic administration at the home institution or at some other institution. In many cases, the visibility and scholarly credibility that will result from the above activities will aid the Black "Assistant to. . ." in advancing the cause of Black students and the wider Black community. It becomes increasingly difficult for the system to reject the recommendations of a Black administrator who can command broad-based campus and community support for his/her actions.

Finally, there is a great need for Black administrators in white universities to come together to discuss mutual problems, give mutual support, and develop more assertive survival strategies. The National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education (NAFEO) is to be commended for providing this opportunity to consider such issues.

Footnotes

[1]Calvert H. Smith, "The Peculiar Status of Black Administrators in Educational Institutions," Journal of Negro Education (Fall 1978), p. 323.

[2]See: Charles J. Evans, "What Happens to Black Administrators in White Universities," Negro American Literature Forum (Fall 1971), pp. 98-101; William Moore and Lonnie H. Wagstaff, Black Educators in White Colleges (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1974); Myrtis H. Mosley, "Black Women Administrators in Higher Education: An Endangered Species," Journal of Black Studies (March, 1980), pp. 295-310; Alvin Poussaint, "The Black Administrator in the White University," Black Scholar (September, 1974), pp. 8-14; Smith op. cit.; Charles H. Tucker, "The Cycle, Dilemna, and Expectations of the Black Administrator," Journal of Black Studies (March, 1980), pp. 311-321.

[3]Bennie L. Wiley, "A Different Breed of Administrator," Phi Delta Kappan (May, 1971), p. 550.

[4]Tucker, op. cit., p. 315.

[5]Smith, op. cit., pp. 324-325.

[6]Evans, op. cit., p. 101.

[7]William E. Sedlacek and Dennis W. Webster, "Admission and Retention of Minority Students in Large Universities," Journal of College Student Personnel (March, 1978), pp. 242-248.

BLACK ADMINISTRATORS IN HIGHER EDUCATION AND THEIR PATTERNS AND PREFERENCES OF PARTICIPATION IN CONTINUING EDUCATION PROGRAMS

James Washington, Jr., Pastor
New Grove Baptist Church
Athens, GA

Black administrators employed in institutions of higher education, like other professionals, need to stay abreast of the rapid developments and changes in their administrative fields. One essential way for the black administrator to stay abreast of changes and new developments is through programs of continuing education.

Continuing education is a broad and widely researched area among the professions. In a structured learning capacity, Houle (1967) describes continuing education as a way for the administrator in the professions to keep up with knowledge related to the administrator's profession, establish mastery of concepts related to the administrator's profession, continue study of basic disciplines which support the administrator's profession and grow as a person as well as a professional (pp. 263-264). This is not to suggest that continuing education can resolve the difficulties encountered in all arenas of debate and conflict, but it is an especially important avenue available to black administrators.

The Carnegie Commission of Higher Education (1971) reported that a lack of executive experience in the black community has meant that most black administrators must learn on the job. To combat and aid the lack of administrative experience in the black community, the Carnegie Commission concluded that three remedies should be taken into consideration. For one, the historically white colleges in the North and South should appoint blacks to existing administrative positions open at their institutions. Secondly, colleges and universities should develop programs and prepare and submit proposals to the government and foundations for support of administrative intern programs for black students. With funding prospects at a low point and civil rights initiatives given low priority by the present administration, these two suggestions may be difficult to implement. Therefore, the Commission further recommended that the black founded institutions of higher education organize advanced management seminars and short courses for the administrator. Once again, we see the need for new opportunities for continuing education among the black professionals in administration.

Additional information concerning programs of continuing education for black administrators employed in institutions of higher education was presented by Johnson (1969) who proposed the implementation of an Institute for Black College Administrators. The basic design of the institute would consist of learning activities and workshops designed

to aid the black administrator from the black perspective. This institute for Black College Administrators would be administered by black academicians who have demonstrated their ability to be creative and effective.

While all of the above studies show need for continuing education for the black administrator, they do not offer any insight regarding black administrators' actual attendance at existing continuing education programs or their preferences with respect to ideal programs that might be implemented in the future.

Methodology

The major objective of this study is to provide useful information about the participation patterns and preferences of black administrators in programs of continuing education. The data for this study were obtained from 223 black administrators of forty-one (41) institutions of higher education in the states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. As a part of a larger study of continuing education for black administrators (Washington, 1982), the institutions for this article are classified by the racial dominance of the student body in order to compare the responses of black administrators employed at predominantly black institutions of higher education (those with 60% or more black student enrollment) with those of black administrators employed at the predominantly white institutions (those with 60% or more white student enrollment).

The study, therefore, investigated the relationship of the independent variable (racial dominance of the institution where black administrators are employed) to the type of agencies sponsoring continuing education programs previously attended by black administrators and the type of professional continuing education programs black administrators would elect to attend in the future. The agencies identified in this study as sponsors of continuing education programs are Continuing Education Centers, Four-year Graduate Institutions of Higher Education, Junior and Community Colleges, Seminaries and Religious Institutions of Higher Education, Business Institutes, and Professional Associations.

Results

Table I which follows presents the difference between the frequencies which were actually observed for black administrators employed at predominantly white and predominantly black institutions of higher education in relationship to the frequencies that would be expected if black administrators had the same population distribution of response to the statement related to their past attendance in continuing education programs by sponsors.

TABLE I

PATTERNS OF PARTICIPATION IN

PREVIOUS CONTINUING EDUCATION PROGRAMS

	TYPE OF INSTITUTION				
	Predominantly White		Predominantly Black		Chi-Square
Sponsors	Did not Attend	Attended	Did not Attend	Attended	Results
Continuing Education Center	O=47 E=49.4	O=25 E=22.6	O=106 E=103.6	O=45 E=47.4	*
4 Year Colleges/ Graduate Schools	O=48 E=53.9	O=24 E=18.1	O=119 E=113.1	O=32 E=37.9	a*
2 Year Colleges	O=59 E=66.8	O=13 E=5.2	O=148 E=140.2	O=3 E=10.8	**
Seminaries/ Religious Institution	O=68 E=70.1	O=4 E=1.94	O=149 E=146.9	O=2 E=4.06	***
Business Institutes	O=65 E=62	O=7 E=10	O=127 E=130	O=24 E=21	*
Professional Associations	O=24 E=18.7	O=48 E=53.3	O=34 E=39.3	O=117 E=111.7	*
Other Continuing Education Sponsors	O=63 E=63.6	O=9 E=8.4	O=134 E=133.4	O=17 E=17.6	*

Frequencies

O=the observed frequency

E=the expected frequency

Differences

*=non-significance

**=significance

***=expected frequencies are too low for chi-square to be a valid test.

a*=approaches significance

The results of the frequency test for black administrators employed at predominantly white and predominantly black institutions of higher education indicate that there is no significant difference in their past attendance at four of the seven sponsors. The four sponsors are Continuing Education Centers, Business Institutes, Professional Associations and the general category of other sponsors of continuing education programs.

Black administrators employed at predominantly white institutions, however, showed a higher pattern of participation in continuing education programs sponsored at both two-year and four-year colleges/-graduate schools. The level of significance between black administrators employed at predominantly white institutions and black administrators employed at predominantly black institutions was calculated at the 3.80 level of significance with 3.84 being the critical point.

Seminaries/Religious Institutions of higher education did not have an expected value high enough for the frequency test to give adequate information concerning black administrators' participation patterns in these institutions as sponsors of continuing education programs.

Table II presents a mean rank order of preference among black administrators employed in the two types of higher education institutions. A chi-square was obtained to test for significant differences. The results indicated that there was no significant differences between black administrators employed at the predominantly white institutions and black administrators employed at predominantly black institutions. Therefore, the mean rank was obtained to show what type of institution black administrators would choose to attend in the future.

The results of the mean rank order test for the two employing institutions show that black administrators prefer to attend Professional Associations as a first choice, closely followed by four-year colleges/graduate schools and continuing education centers as sponsors of continuing education programs. Business Institutes, two-year colleges, Seminaries/Religious Institutions and other sponsors of continuing education programs followed in that order.

In summary, the results of this study are as follows. First, the top three sponsors of continuing education programs that had been previously attended by black administrators were also the top three sponsors the sample population preferred to attend in the future. These sponsors are Professional Associations, four-year college/graduate schools, and Continuing Education Centers.

Second, the mode of preference shows that black administrators would choose the Professional Association and four-year college/-graduate schools as a first choice and the Continuing Education Centers as a second and third choice.

TABLE II

FUTURE PREFERENCE OF ATTENDANCE

IN CONTINUING EDUCATION PROGRAMS

	TYPE OF INSTITUTION					
	Predominantly White			Predominantly Black		
SPONSORS	Mean Rank	Mode	N	Mean Rank	Mode	N
Continuing Education Center	2.898	3	59	2.805	2	128
4 Year Colleges/ Graduate Schools	2.288	1	59	2.464	1	127
2 Year Colleges	4.569	5	58	4.983	5	121
Seminaries/ Religious Institute	5.803	6	66	5.462	6	119
Business Institute	3.754	4	57	3.411	4	129
Professional Associations	2.15	1	60	2.104	1	134
Other Continuing Education Sponsors	5.88	7	25	6.034	7	58

Discussion

This article is a small portion of a larger study performed by Washington (1982) to shed some light on a much needed area of research. Continuing education for the professions is a widely researched area, but there are relatively few data related to black administrators employed in higher educational institutions. Therefore, the results of this article should assist continuing education personnel to better understand black administrators' patterns and preferences in programs of continuing education by sponsor. Finally, with the limited sample involved in this study, it is suggested that other studies be done in the area of continuing education and the black professionals.

References

Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. From Isolation to Mainstream. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1971.

Houle, Cyril O. "The Role of Continuing Education in Current Professional Development," American Library Association Bulletin, LXI (March 1967) pp. 259-267.

Johnson, Roosevelt. "Black Administrators and Higher Education," Black Scholars (November, 1969), pp. 66-76.

Washington, James Jr. Selected Black Administrators and Their Patterns and Preferences of Participation in Continuing Education Programs. Doctoral Dissertation in process (under the direction of Dr. James A. Dinnan), University of Georgia, 1982.

A MODEL FOR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AT A LARGE MIDWESTERN UNIVERSITY

Edward L. Davis, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of
Operations Research
Atlanta University

The issue of affirmative action has received a great deal of attention over the last decade. In private industry minorities are fighting to gain their "piece of the rock," as evidenced by suits brought against many large corporations. Blacks in higher education are especially cognizant that some of the hard won gains of the sixties are being threatened by white backlash as witnessed by court actions, such as the Bakke decision.

University systems are challenging the federal government's desegregation statutes, in some instances successfully. For example, the University of North Carolina system, after a prolonged battle with the federal government over its desegregation plan, now seems to have weathered the storm. It is almost certain that many of these systems will be buoyed by the Reagan Administration's assurance of ending federal confrontations with colleges and universities. However, Clarence Thomas, Director of the Education Department's Office for Civil Rights warns, "We have not given any indication we will do less to enforce civil rights laws than in the past. . . . We have not changed our investigation posture. We have not changed the number of compliance reviews that we are doing. I am interested in achieving results. . . . If it is necessary to bite, I will bite."[1] Willard L. Boyd, former president of the University of Iowa, speaking on a relaxation of commitment says, "What worries me is the appearance of relaxation suggests a relaxation of commitment. I went through the 60's and 70's and I know that I understood it. Regardless of what happens in Washington, there's got to be a commitment of higher education to affirmative action if it is to have any integrity whatsoever."[2]

The purpose of this paper, then, is to describe a model which can be used to set more realistic affirmative action goals. A simple Markov chain model is used to assist the administrative planner in developing and implementing a reasonable and achievable manpower plan while also maintaining a strong commitment to affirmative action. The particular application will be a university setting; however, with slight modifications it could be applied to government, particularly the armed services, and industry.

Definitions and Notations

A stochastic process is a collection of random variables indexed by the time or space parameter (T), which can assume a finite or infinite number of values called states. The system, flow of cohorts between states, is described by means of conditional probabilities. For example, suppose one wishes to know the probability that at time n the system is in state i_n given that at time n-1 it was in state i_{n-1}, at time n-2 it was in state i_{n-2} and so forth, such that at time 0 the system was in state i_o. The approximate conditional probability would then be

$$P(x_{n=} \; i_n / x_{n-1} = i_{n-1}, x_{n-2} = i_{n-2}, \ldots, x_o = i_o),$$

which at best would be difficult to estimate or calculate. If the probability of the future depends only on the present (i.e., is independent of the past) then $P(x_n = i_n / x_{n-1} = i_{n-1}, x_{n-2} \ldots,$

$x_o = i_o) = P(x_n = i_n / x_{n-1} = i_{n-1})$ and the stochastic process is called a Markov process. Further, if it can be assumed that the movement between states occurs at discrete time points (e.g., beginning of the school year), then the Markov process is called a Markov chain.

The Model

Markov chain models of faculty flow have gained popularity since the early work done at Stanford[3] and Oregon State.[4] However, the use of these models in a general manpower planning setting has been widespread. Perhaps the most definitive work is the book by Bartholomew. The basic model uses transition probabilities obtained from historical data to estimate future distributions of faculty according to a predefined state description. Thus the expected number is state j at time T, $\bar{n}j\,(T)$, is given by

$$(1)\ \bar{n}j(T) = E\, P_{ij}(T)\, n_i(T-1) + x_j(T)\, R(T)$$

where

$P_{ij}(T)$ - probability of moving from state i at time T-1 to state at time T.

$n_j(T)$ - number in state i at time T

$x_i(T)$ - percentage of new appointments to state i at time T

R(T) - number of new appointments at time T.

Using (1) the number of faculty in each state can be recursively calculated from a knowledge of the initial distribution $n_i(0)$, the transition probabilities $P_{ij}(T)$ and the new hires in state j given by the last term in equation (1).

Historical data are used to generate transition probabilities (movement between ranks) for faculty in a particular university division, e.g., college of business. This is a departure from what has been done by Hopkins and Bloomfield who looked at either the University as a whole or a large college such as Arts and Sciences. Unique circumstances such as those that exist in colleges and business and engineering engender actions that are not uniform throughout the entire university. For instance, the scarcity of minority faculty in these disciplines foster actions and goals different from those that exist in Arts and Sciences where the scarcity is not as acute. In fact, their numbers are often bolstered by departments of Afro-American Studies. Statistical and mathematical validity for this approach is provided in a paper by Bleau.[5] The model projects the future composition of the faculty. An administrative planner can then implement policies that will effectuate desired faculty composition with respect to tenure/-nontenure mix, percentage of minority faculty, age distribution and retirement dates.

Unquestionably, black faculty are in demand by predominantly white universities. Competition is extremely keen, thrusting salaries way above what could have been imagined as recently as five years ago. Coupled with the pressures of affirmative action policies and the aggressive recruiting posture of major universities, these high salaries will syphon more and more faculty away from the predominantly black institutions. However, historical evidence has shown that many blacks do not survive in the large university environment. They don't gain tenure or promotion, become frustrated and often return to black institutions embittered by their experience.

Unreasonable expectations and goals have been set by many universities. Recruited faculty members then become disenchanted because of a perception of deception when often it is pure ignorance on the part of administrators of what actually can be achieved. By utilizing the Markovian model, planners will have a better idea of the mobility patterns of their faculty and can establish feasible goals and courses of action for their achievement. Faculty members can assess their chances of achieving promotion and tenure and make more informed choices.

Setting

The University of Cincinnati (UC) is a large comprehensive school serving some 38,000 undergraduate and graduate students. It is an urban university situated in a racially and economically mixed section of the city. It has a strong commitment to continuing education and is nationally recognized for some of its academic programs.

In 1978, blacks numbered 3729 (about 10%) with 3340 undergraduates, and 389 graduate and professional school enrollees. From Figure 1 it is clear that blacks comprise the largest single minority population on campus. The faculty, on the otherhand, consist of 389 full-time blacks out of a total of approximately 1600 faculty members. Figure 2 is a 1978 snapshot of black faculty by college.

Numerically, black student enrollment at UC exceeds the total enrollments of most of the approximately 125 predominantly black institutions. It, therefore, is imperative that UC and other similar major white universities with large black enrollments have black faculty to assist, counsel, motivate and serve as positive influences to make the college experience a successful one.

Description of Faculty States

Considerable care must be taken when defining faculty states. Essentially four ranks existed at Cincinnati during the study period: Instructor, Assistant Professor, Associate Professor and Professor. Though this definition of states makes for accurate estimates of the transition probabilities, the reasonableness of the Markov assumption can be questioned since the probability of promotion is directly linked to length of service. Figure 3 is an example of a state space which incorporates this assumption. However, for the present analysis, five states will be used to demonstrate the methodology while keeping the mathematics at a minimum.

Data were collected for transitions between faculty states for each of the year pairs 1972-1977. This yielded five transition probability matrices which were averaged to generate the final transition matrix displayed in Figure 4. The value of 1 for P_{44} is unrealistic over a long run and thus must be modified when used for planning purposes. A total of 80 data points were used over the 5 year span.

To test the model's predictive power, 1970 was chosen as a base year and equation (1) used to generate faculty levels for 1977. These are compared against actual 1977 data in the Table below. The good agreement of these estimates provides justification for using the model to forecast faculty levels for a 5 or 10 year period as well as to formulate affirmative action goals.

Figure 1

RACE	GRADUATE	PROFESSIONAL	UNDERGRATUATE	TOTAL
American Indian or Alaskan Native	7	-	91	98
Black, Non-Hispanic	311	78	3340	3729
Asian or Pacific Islander	39	12	157	208
Hispanic	34	11	79	124
White, Non-Hispanic	3790	1019	25609	30418
Non-Resident Alien on student or temporary visa	448	3	117	568
Other	133	21	595	749
No Information	153	14	1675	1842
TOTAL	4915	1158	31663	37736

Figure 2

Arts and Sciences	10
Business	2
Community Services	2
College Conservatory of Music	3
Design Arts and Architecture	1
Education	4
Law	2
Nursing and Health	6
Raymond Walters College	3
University College	5

Figure 3

State	Description
1	Instructor
2	Assistant Professor
3	Associate Professor
4	Professor
5	Departed (Terminated, Resigned, Retired)

State Definitions for the
Stanford Faculty Flow Model

State	Description
1	Nontenure--First year
2	Nontenure--Second year
3	Nontenure--Third year
4	Nontenure--Fourth year
5	Nontenure--Fifth year
6	Nontenure--Sixth year
7	Nontenure--Seventh year
8	Tenure--Age 30 to 34
9	Tenure--Age 35 to 39
10	Tenure--Age 40 to 44
11	Tenure--Age 45 to 49
12	Tenure--Age 50 to 54
13	Tenure--Age 55 to 59
14	Tenure--Age 60 to 64
15	Retirement
16	Resignation
17	Death

Figure 4

	1	2	3	4	5
1	.57	0	0	0	.43
2	0	.71	.2	0	.09
3	0	0	.9	.01	0
4	0	0	0	1	0
5	0	0	0	0	1

Table

State	n(77)	$\tilde{n}$(77)	Error	% error
2	15	17	-2	-13.3
3	20	18	2	10
4	25	26	0	0
5	8	6	2	25

A subsequent paper details the calculations of several 5 and 10 year plans utilizing various hiring stategies to set effectively affirmative action goals consistent with the university's ability to attain them.

Remarks

A simple Markov chain model has been outlined to assist university planners in setting more attainable affirmative action goals. The present paper essentially presented the model, giving some justification for its use in a small college or department at a major university.

Future applications will track the faculty in several colleges in the university to see how well they can meet their commitment to affirmative action.

Footnotes

[1]Cheryl Fields, "Civil-Rights Officials Cautioned Not to Let Down on Affirmative Action," The Chronicle of Higher Education (October 28, 1981).

[2]Ibid.

[3]David Hopkins, "Analysis of Faculty Appointment, Promotion and Retirement Policies," Higher Education, 3 (1974) 397-418.

[4]Stefan Bloomfield, "Comprehensive Faculty Flow Analysis," Planning and Institutional Research, Oregon State University, 1976.

[5]Barbara Lee Bleau, "The Academic Flow Model: A Markov Chain Model For Faculty Planning," Decision Sciences, 12, No. 2 (April, 1981), 294-308.

MAINTAINING LINKAGES THROUGH AFFIRMATIVE LEADERSHIP

Marshena M. Baird, Ed.D.
Assistant Professor of Education
Bennett College

On a large northeastern state university located in a semi-rural community, a group of twenty-six Black parents who were mostly graduate students, enrolled their pre-school children in a program which they thought was not only community-based but recognized by the university.

On a December day, one week before finals, the parents came as usual, only to find without explanation the doors locked and no staff present to receive the children.

The events that ensued laid the foundation for an uncommon group interaction which enabled the development of the program in spite of odds to the contrary.

It is assumed that human interaction, no matter the physical method of linkage, is inevitable and pivotal. Hence, this paper addresses the human factor in establishing and maintaining practiceable and practical linkages.

The findings and interpretations selected for presentation are based on a five-year study of the observable actions and reactions under given circumstances of internal and external parties directly or indirectly involved in the program. Because of the sensitive nature of some of the contents, names and locations have been eliminated. The behaviors, problems and solutions were studied with respect to Seymour B. Sarason's position that specific complex behavioral interactions consistently and predictably recur in new settings--ones in which people are brought together in new relationships for sustained periods of time to accomplish stated objectives. Furthermore, the behavioral interactions are rooted in a problem of communication, and the crux of the communication problem is the concept of reality.[1]

To prevent failure, Sarason suggests "reality" must be community-group oriented and verbally communicated when developing the setting.[2] In the instance of this case study, "community" referred to the university community and "group," to the Black parent group.

Behaviors described by Sarason were observed in the development of the Black setting, but behaviors not described by Sarason--racism, prejudice and so-called "self-hatred syndrome"--needed explication and resolution.

It can be argued that racism, prejudice and "self-hatred syndrome" are based on misconceptions of reality. However, in most of the case-study instances, verbalization of perceived reality, as suggested by Sarason, neither abated nor changed the behavioral pattern although the verbalization may have caused the immediate behavior to change.

Sarason did not take into consideration mechanisms developed by a culture to preserve the culture's identity or dominance although he does acknowledge that "culture" can and does restrict reality.[3]

To accommodate the persistance of many behavioral patterns, a construct of Psychological Attack was developed by the researcher. Psychological Attack is described as a repertoire of culturally-learned mechanisms which are selected, according to the intensity and degree of a perceived threat, to establish or maintain a group's dominance. Psychological Attack is defined as a covert and/or overt lunge at the emotional, mental and/or physical stability of a person or group; a conscious or subconscious attempt to undermine the achievements, progress, etc. of a person or group by another person or group; instability attacking stability; the practice of prejudice, misconceptions and myths.

Furthermore, it is theorized that Psychological Attack has become common to the extent that should an opposing culture or group not be encountered, the culturally-learned phenomenon urges to be practiced and is practiced within the group: the "self-hatred syndrome."

Without support systems and desperate to have their preschoolers well cared for during this trying period, the parents--unaware of Sarason, of literature on "new settings," or of Psychological Attack--met to discuss and resolve their dilemma. In so doing, they verbalized their perceived realities within political, historical, economical and sociological contexts.

Some of their perceived realities were the negativistic attitudes Whites had towards Blacks, a stagnant Black Studies Program with some members committed to the rhetoric and/or ideologies of the 60's, Black administrators who would not or could not lend assistance, no funds, ignorance as to the conditions under which the school closed and no resources other than themselves.

Identification of these "realities" in turn identified perceived potential areas of difficulty. For instance, in light of recent historical pushes for integration, Blacks as well as Whites may have questioned the intent of the group, labelling it separatist or segregationist--according to perceptions.

Since the members were attracted to the school because it was reported to be community-based and cognitively-oriented, the goal and objectives of the school were written in terms of development of cognitive skills perceived to be needed in a global community of African, Asian and Hispanic peoples. Hence, the preschool curriculum was to offer African, Asian, and Hispanic culture, mathematics, science, Spanish and communicational skills.

Political identifiers (Third World, pictures of "revolutionaries" etc.) were avoided, for it was perceived that these things meant different things to different groups and evoked images that may have been undesirable.

Another reality was that areas of anticipated difficulty would eventually have to be verbalized to university officials. The "how" and "by whom" initiated discussion on the development of an interpersonal behavioral code. This code, later called "Affirmative Leadership," also assisted in combating Psychological Attack and in establishing linkages with external groups or agencies or individuals which yielded differentiated support and/or information.

Basically, Affirmative Leadership is the total acceptance without intent to change, modify or re-do a person regardless of that person's education, class, communicational skills, religion, etc. Since an individual is accepted (as opposed to "tolerated"), his word is trusted, his input valued, and his capabilities not questioned. The individual knows he/she is depended upon, and should he need help in executing his task, the individual can be confident the help received will not be value-laden.

Knowing they were being depended upon to perform to the best of their ability probably caused the parents to offer assistance only in those areas in which they felt competent and confident. Furthermore, since all decisions were group-made, an individual selected to represent the group was also confident in knowing he had the complete support of the group whether the process or outcome was positive or negative.

Establishing networks of support and information was perceived to be vital to the group's survival. The parents decided to start with the university's administration. Approaching the administrators with the same group-held interpersonal respect, the leader was to greet everyone cordially and not alienate anyone. It was assumed that on a person-to-person basis those who give respect and assistance get respect and assistance in return.

The parents recorded the date, time, place and name of the individuals to whom they were referred during the expected "run-around." This information was recorded on index cards with comments for documentation and future use. Individuals who expressed a need for assistance were helped if at all possible. Success in aiding was a means of affirmation. Often the attempt sufficed.

Eventually, the group met individuals who answered why the school was closed and who offered them the option of joining the childcare "system."

After many meetings with the childcare community and after determining that the best offer was with the university, the parents established their first linkage with two conditions: (1) that the school be able to retain its goals, and (2) that the parents be able to retain complete control of the school (budget, hiring, firing, curriculum, etc.). These conditions were accepted.

Many problems ensued in spite of the preliminary dialogues. For example, various organizations and individuals in the White university community persisted in labelling the school "Third World." Furthermore, without informing the Black parents, these organizations attempted to "save the Third World school" by taking over the chancellor's office. The parents were unaware their school needed saving and had never been invited to participate in the planning of the takeover (The takeover was ultimately considered a racist act intended to destroy the endeavor). The university administration tried to link the Black group to the takeover which was televised, but could not because there was nothing in the name, literature or advertisements of the school that identified it as "the Third World School." Fortunately, everything that had been done for or in the name of the school was documented. Also, the avoidance of political identifiers and self-definition were invaluable.

The "takeover" occurred in May of the same academic year the parents found themselves in control of the school. The administration promised and delivered a licensable space for the Black group, rent-free for at least one year.

Then, as the pressures from the child care system appeared to lessen, vicious, surreptitious negating behaviors began to surface within the Black group. At first, these behaviors were identified as those described by Cobbs and Grier as the "self-hatred syndrome" in Black Rage,[4] and the self-hatred and fear of success as decribed by Kardiner and Ovesey in The Mark of Oppression.[5] However, the labels simply did not fit. (Kardiner and Ovesey also offer that Blacks connot maintain a socially cohesive unit as a result their poorly integrated personality caused by their oppression. This researcher rejects these contentions because it has been assumed, erroneously, that these negating behaviors do not exist in the White personality. Hence, another explanation--Psychological Attack--is offered.)

It was observed and verbalized that the current behaviors were almost identical to the racist and prejudicial behaviors encountered in the interactions with the child care groups: condescension, child-like treatment of adults, "hidden agendas," etc. The group re-focused on

possible problems to come. Additionally, through Affirmation, the Black group had been able to ward off the psychological attacks from without and, through Affirmation, the group did ward off psychological attacks from within.

Agencies, groups, organizations, and individuals needed to be approached for the purposes of broadening the support and informational base. Preliminary discussions this time, however, were specifically intended to determine the goals, history, assets and liabilities of the target organization. A liability may be, for example, the organization's political orientation--anything that may damage the image of the school. The preliminary discussion also was to inform the target organization about the school's goals, curriculum and history. This information was to make known the existence of the school, to get positive and negative reactions to the school, and to dispel any misconceptions about the school.

If the goals of the organization were compatible with those of the school, then a linkage of some sort was furthered. Should a linkage not be considered, through affirmation, future interactions were made accessible, for organizational goals do change as well as those of the community to be served.

Targets for affiliation became the Hispanic community and the international student community, for the curriculum concerned these cultures. Moreover, the newly-granted space permitted three times the number of the original group of fifteen children.

In fact, the international population of the group grew to the point that more than sixteen different nationalities were represented in the student, parent and staff bodies. Among the nationalities were Norwegian, French, Israeli, Iranian, and East Indian.

Before channels of information were established, the responsibility to bring pertinent information to the attention of the others was that of the parents. This task was lessened somewhat by allowing affiliated organizations to place information in the school's newsletter. A contact person who worked for the Bilingual-Bicultural Program was asked to write a column in Spanish. Other Hispanics seeing the column felt affirmed and expressed appreciation by lending support and/or sending their children. Furthermore, indirect support was supplied from the Bilingual-Bicultural Program. Selected individuals from the university community and beyond the university community were invited to attend open houses, or as in the case of all public school kindergarten teachers in the town, to a luncheon in the school. Again, the purpose was to inform the public so that misconceptions would be disspelled, to gain support for the effort, and to let visitors observe the educational program.

It is a mistake to think that all problems disappeared. There will always be problems. Problems must be anticipated and solutions to those problems developed and activated when necessary.

Some problems encountered and successfully accommodated--sometimes by a self-determined change in structure--were a charge that the school was "racially imbalanced" and therefore illegal, the push by the Hispanic population within and without the school to make the school Bi-lingual/Bi-cultural, the potential loss of complete parent control by sudden increase in population and university childcare system demands for standardization. All of these "problems" were resolved without alienating anyone--person or group.

Knowledge is the key. But, knowledge is useless without humans intelligently and cooperatively acting on that knowledge. In the case study instance, only through affirmative leadership were individuals able to successfully act on the accrued knowledge.

From a small group to the second largest childcare facility in the university system, the school became well-known in the area and respected by educators.

There was a price, however. The price was a change in interpersonal and intercultural behaviors which demanded:

1. Self-definition
2. Time: To strategize, research, discuss, change
3. Stamina: to endure Psychological Attack
4. Documentation
5. Determination: to provide to the Black Community the best education possible
6. Courage: to take calculated, well-researched risks, and
7. Affirmative leadership.

Affirmative leadership is the acceptance of individuals; it is genuine assistance offered to people on their terms; it is the acceptance of challenges to its "authority" or knowledge as an opportunity to learn, to grow; it is the confidence and dependability on humans as resources; it is the integration of differentiated skills from a diversity of persons for the purpose of solving problems; it is the recognition that interactions will necessarily bring about change; and finally, it is the acceptance and definition of the parameters of that change.

Outline of Steps to Establish Linkages

1. Establishment of a purpose in terms of the Black community to be served.

2. Establishment of an interpersonal value system.

3. Verbalization of perceived realities.

   a. Identification of potential areas of difficulty.

   b. Identification of potential areas of strength.

4. Acquisition of information needed to resolve problems.

5. Planning and activation of solutions to problems.

6. Protection of self-determined image projected.

7. Establishment of support and informational channels through a differentiated approach

   a. File system (identification of all groups/committees which will or can impact on the endeavor)

   b. Preliminary discussions which are effective

   c. Documentation of all efforts

   d. Contacts of group members

   e. Public relations ploys

8. Preparation for Psychological Attack.

   a. From within

   b. From without

9. Return to #1.

Footnotes

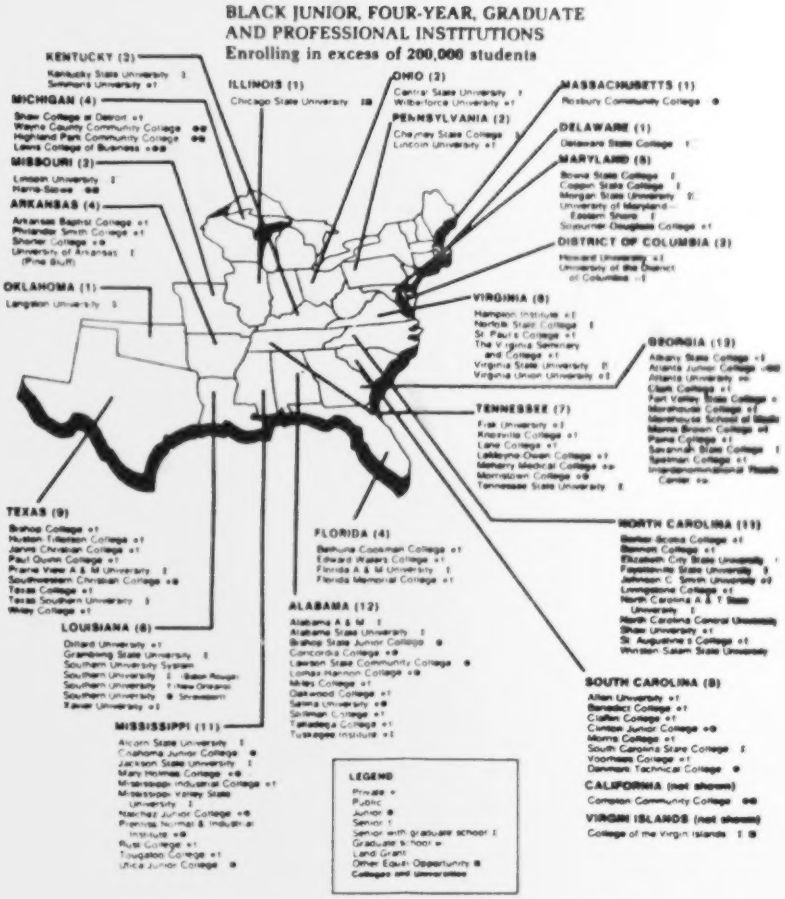
[1] Seymour B. Sarason, George Zitnay, and Frances K. Grossman, The Creation of a Community Setting (Syracuse: Syracuse University, Division of Special Education and Rehabilitation, 1971), PP. 5, 89-90.

[2] Seymour B. Sarason, The Creation of Settings and the Future Societies (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., Publishers, 1972), P. 211.

[3] Seymour B. Sarason, "A Cultural Limitation of Systems Approaches to Educational Reform," American Journal of Community Psychology 5 (1977), p. 277.

[4] William Cobbs and Price M. Grier Black Rage (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1968), pp. 20-22, 198, 203.

[5] Abram Kardiner, M.D. and Lionel Ovesey, M.D., The Mark of Oppression (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1951), pp. 339-387.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE